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ART. I.—THE DAWN OF INDIAN RESEARCH.

“ Looke backe, who list, unto the former ages,
And call to count, what is of them become :
Where be those learned wits and antique sages
Which of all wisdome knew the perfect somme ?
Where those great warriors which did overcome
The world with conquest of their might and maine,
And made one meare of th’ earth and of their raine ?

“ What now is of th’ Assyrian Lyonesse,
Of whom no footing now on earth appears ?
What of the Persian beares outrageousnesse,
Whose memorie is quite worne out with yeares ?
Who of the Grecian Libbard now aught heares,
That over-ran the East with greedie powre,
And left his whelps their kingdoms to devoure ? ”

SPENSER, *The Ruines of Time.*

WE have had a decade of anniversaries, of centenaries, of jubilees. The great happenings of the Middle Ages—the life of Martin Luther, the discovery of America, and, in Russia, the heroism of Sergé the Regenerator, the deathless—have been brought home to us to tell us how the times that are gone are bound up with the times that are ; how the present is the child and heir of the immemorial past. Yet one centenary slipped by, scarce noted, or noted not at all ; the event that should have been commemorated bids fair to bear immortal fruit, to open up a new world for our tired thoughts and tired hearts to travel to, as the mariner of Genoa opened up a new world and a new life where the age-worn peoples might make their home.

This scarce recorded event, which was yet so pregnant with fate, was the dawn of Indian research, through the foundation of the “ *Asiatick Society* ” of Bengal. I do not know whether the story of that foundation has ever been told ; whether the old records have ever been reverently examined by some grateful follower of those first leaders of Indian study ; but it cannot be out of place to tell the story once again, if it has been told ; or to gather together the scattered leaves of the ancient records, if the story is still untold.

It would seem that the thought of founding a society for "Asiatick Researches" first formed itself in the mind of SIR WILLIAM JONES, a man fitted to guide the taste of the elegant, and correct the learning of the studious. Let us tell the story in the words of his biographer.*

"SIR WILLIAM JONES embarked for India in the *Crocodile* frigate; and in April 1783. left his native country, to which he was never to return, with the unavailing regret and affectionate wishes of his numerous friends and admirers.

"As to himself, the melancholy impressions which he could not but feel on such an occasion, were alleviated by various considerations. The expectations of five years were now accomplished in the attainment of his wishes: he anticipated the utility of his official labours to the public, and the occupation, so peculiarly delightful to him, of investigating the unexplored mines of literature. SIR WILLIAM JONES was now in his thirty-seventh year, in the full vigour of his faculties, and he looked forward with ardour to the pleasures and advantages arising from his situation in India, without any apprehension that the climate of that country would prove hostile to his constitution. A difference of opinion on great political questions, without diminishing his regard for his friends had narrowed his habits of intercourse with some whom he sincerely esteemed, and he felt, therefore, the less regret in quitting those whose principles he wished to approve, but from whom an adherence to his own frequently compelled him to dissent. He reflected, with pleasure, on the independency of his station, that the line of duty, which it prescribed, was straight and defined, and in leaving his native country, for which he retained the warmest affection, he was not sorry to abandon all political cares and discussions. But his greatest consolation and enjoyment were derived from the society of LADY JONES.

"To those who are destitute of internal resources, whose habits have led them to seek for amusement in the miscellaneous occurrences and topics of the day only, a sea voyage is a period of fatigue, languor, and anxiety. To SIR WILLIAM JONES every new scene was interesting, and his mind, exercised by incessant study and reflection, possessed an inexhaustible fund of subjects, which he could at pleasure select and apply to the purposes of recreation and improvement, but his application during his voyage was more particularly directed to those studies by which he was to enlarge the requisite qualifications for discharging the duties of his public station, with satisfaction to himself, and benefit to the community.

* "The Works of Sir William Jones, with the Life of the Author." By Lord Teignmouth. London, 1807.

"During his voyage, SIR WILLIAM JONES prepared the following memorandum :—

Objects of Enquiry during my Residence in Asia.

1. The Laws of the Hindus and Mohammedans.
2. The History of the Ancient World.
3. Proofs and Illustrations of Scripture.
4. Traditions concerning the Deluge, etc.
5. Modern Politics and Geography of Hindustan.
6. Best mode of governing Bengal.
7. Arithmetic and Geometry, and mixed Sciences of the Asiatics.
8. Medicine, Chemistry, Surgery, and Anatomy of the Indians.
9. Natural Productions of India.
10. Poetry, Rhetoric and Morality of Asia.
11. Music of the Eastern Nations
12. The Shi kings, or 300 Chinese Odes.
13. The best accounts of Tibet and Cashmir.
14. Trade, Manufactures, Agriculture, and Commerce of India,
15. Mogul Constitution, contained in the Desteri Aleinghiri and Ayeln Acbari.
16. Mahratta Constitution.

To print and publish the *Gospel* of St. Luke in Arabic.

To publish Law Tracts in Persian or Arabic.

To print and publish the *Psalms* of David in Persian verse.

To compose, if God grant me life :—

1. Elements of the Laws of England :
Model—The Essay on Bailment—Aristotle.
2. The History of the *American* war :
Model—Thucydides and Polybius.
3. Britain discovered, an Heroic Poem on the Constitution of England :
Machinery—Hindu Gods.
Model—Homer.
4. Speeches, Political and Forensic :
Model—Demosthenes.
5. Dialogues, Philosophical and Historical :
Model—Plato.
6. Letters. *Model*—Demosthenes and Plato. 12th July 1783.
Crocodile Frigate.

One is led to reflect on this somewhat ambitious memorandum, *first*, that the man who laid the foundations of Indian Orientalism was as singularly free from that too narrow specialism which constantly threatens to smother wisdom under knowledge, as he was free from the bitterness of personality of which scholars are too often to be accused ; and, *secondly*, we are led to reflect that, great as was SIR WILLIAM JONES' achievement, it fell far short of his designs ; while those ambitious epics and dialogues which were to imitate Plato and Homer are as little heard of as Spenser's 'Grecian Libbard.' In the course of the voyage—continues the biographer—"he stopped at Madeira, and, in ten additional weeks of prosperous sailing from the rugged islands of Cape Verd, arrived at Hinzuan or Joanna. Of this island, where he remained a few days only,

he has published an interesting and amusing description. He expatiates, with rapture, on his approach to it; delineates, with the skill of an artist, the beauty of the scenery, and sketches, with the discriminating pen of a philosopher, the characters and manners of the unpolished but hospitable natives. The novelty of the scene was attractive, and its impression upon his mind is strongly marked by the following just and elegant reflection, which in substance is more than once repeated in his writings:—‘If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, public and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much more pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties.’

“But it would be injustice,” says Lord Teignmouth, “to his memory to pass over, without particular notice, the sensible and dignified rebuke with which he repelled the rude attack of Mussalman bigotry on the divinity of our Saviour. During a visit which he made to a native of the island, a *Coran* was produced for his inspection, and his attention was pointedly directed to a passage in a commentary accusing the Christians of blasphemy in calling our Saviour the son of God. ‘The Commentator’ (he replied) ‘was much to blame for passing so hasty and indiscriminate a censure; the title which gave your legislator, and which gives you such offence, was often applied in *Judea* by a bold figure, agreeably to the *Hebrew* idiom, to *angels*, to *holy men*, and even to *all mankind*, who are commanded to call God their father; and in this large sense, the Apostle to the Romans calls the elect the *children* of God, and the Messiah the *first born among many brethren*; but the words *only begotten* are applied transcendentally and incomparably to Him alone; and as for me, who believe the Scriptures—which you also profess to believe, though you assert, without proof, that we have altered them,—I cannot refuse Him an appellation, though far surpassing our reason, by which He is distinguished in the Gospel; and the believers in Mohammed, who expressly name him the Messiah, and pronounce him to have been born of a virgin (which alone might fully justify the phrase condemned by this author), are themselves condemnable, for cavilling at words, when they cannot object to the substance of our faith, consistently with their own.

As illustrating the Mussalman belief that ‘we have altered the Scriptures’ one might refer to this passage of Albîrûnî: * ‘Now the Jews selected seventy-two men out of their twelve tribes, six men of each tribe, from among the Rabbis and Priests.

* ALBIRUNI'S ‘*Chronology of Ancient Nations*.’ By Dr. Edward Sachau, (London 1879), p. 24.

Their names are known among the Christians. These men translated the Thora into Greek, after they had been housed separately, and each couple had got a servant to take care of them. This went on till they had finished the translation of the whole book. Now the king had in his hand thirty-six translations. These he compared with each other, and did not find any differences in them, except those which always occur in the rendering of the same ideas. Then the king gave them what he had promised, and provided them with everything of the best. The Jews asked him to make them a present of one of those copies, of which they wished to make a boast before their own people. And the king complied with their wish.' Now this is the copy of the Christians, and people think that in it no alteration or transposition has taken place. The Jews, however, give quite a different account—that they made the translation under compulsion, and that they yielded to the king's demand only from fear of violence and maltreatment, and not before having agreed upon inverting and confounding the best of the book. There is nothing in the report of the Christians which, even if we should take it for granted, removes our doubts as to the authenticity of their Bible; on the contrary, there is something in it which strengthens them greatly." The biographer continues:—

"This quotation affords a decisive proof of the belief of SIR WILLIAM JONES in the sublime doctrines of the Christian religion. Had he been an infidel, he would have smiled at the scoffs of Mussalman bigotry; and had he been indifferent to his faith, he would have been silent on an occasion where he could expect neither candour nor concessions from his antagonists. Indeed he was well aware that a religious dispute with those zealots would have been fruitless and unseasonable, and might have been dangerous; but, as it was inconsistent with his principles to disavow or conceal what he firmly believed and professed, he could not suffer the attack to pass without reprehension, and he grounded it on premises which his opponents could not dispute, nor did they venture to answer.

"From Hinzuan to the Ganges, nothing material occurred, and he landed at Calcutta in September 1783. His reputation had preceded his arrival, which was anxiously expected, and he had the happiness to find that his appointment had diffused a general satisfaction, which his presence now rendered complete. The students of the Oriental languages were eager to welcome a scholar whose erudition in that branch of literature was unrivalled, and whose labours and genius had assisted their progress; while the public rejoiced in the possession of a Magistrate whose probity and independence were no less acknowledged than his abilities.

"With what rapture he himself contemplated his new situation may be more easily conceived than described. As a Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Judicature, he had now that opportunity which he ever ardently desired, of devoting his talents to the service of his native country, and of promoting the happiness of the community in which he resided ; while the history, antiquities, natural productions, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia opened an extensive and almost boundless field to his enquiries. He was now placed amidst a people whose pretensions to antiquity had hitherto eluded research, and whose manners, religion, and customs still retained the same characteristical peculiarities by which they were originally distinguished. Time, who spreads the veil of oblivion over the opinions and works of mankind, who annihilates empires and the records of their existence, had spared the doctrines and language of the followers of Brama, and, amidst the ravages of conquest and oppressions of tyranny, seemed to protect, with parental care, some of the earliest monuments of his reign. The Hindoos, in fact, presented to the observation of SIR WILLIAM JONES, a living picture of antiquity ; and although the colouring might be somewhat faded and obscured, the lineaments of the original character were still discernible by the most superficial observer, whilst he remarked them with discrimination and rapture.

"In December 1783, he entered upon his judicial functions, and, at the opening of the sessions, delivered his first charge to the Grand Jury. The public had formed a high estimate of his oratorical powers, nor were they disappointed. His address was elegant, concise, and appropriate ; the exposition of his sentiments and principles was equally manly and conciliatory, and calculated to inspire general satisfaction, as the known sincerity of his character was a test of his adherence to his professions. In glancing at dissensions which, at no remote period, had unfortunately prevailed between the supreme executive and judicial powers in Bengal, he shewed that they might and ought to be avoided, that the functions of both were distinct, and could be exercised without danger of collision, in promoting, what ought to be the object of both—the public good.

"In the intervals of leisure from his professional duties, he directed his attention to scientific objects ; he soon saw that the field of research in India was of an extent to baffle the industry of any individual ; and that, whatever success might attend his own indefatigable labours, it could only be explored by the united efforts of many. With these ideas, he devised the institution of a Society in Calcutta, on

the plan of those established in the principal cities of Europe, as best calculated to excite and facilitate the enquiries of the ingenious, as affording the means of preserving the numerous little tracts and essays which otherwise would be lost to the public, and of concentrating all the valuable knowledge which might be obtained in Asia. The suggestion was received with the greatest satisfaction by several gentlemen to whom he communicated it, and the members of the new Association assembled for the first time in January 1784."

So far SIR WILLIAM JONES' biographer. We turn now to the first volume of the *Asiatick Researches*.* As a historic document, the foundation-stone of the great temple of Indian studies, the Introduction deserves to be quoted in full:—

"If this first publication of the *Asiatick Society* should not answer those expectations which may have been hastily formed by the learned in *Europe*, they will be candid enough to consider the disadvantages which must naturally have attended its institution, and retarded its progress. A mere man of letters, retired from the world, and allotting his whole time to philosophical or literary pursuits, is a character unknown among *Europeans* resident in *India*, where every individual is a man of business in the civil or military state, and constantly occupied either in the affairs of government, in the administration of justice, in some department of revenue or commerce, or in one of the liberal professions. Very few hours, therefore, in the day or night, can be reserved for any study that has no immediate connection with business, even by those who are most habituated to mental application: and it is impossible to preserve health in *Bengal*, without regular exercise and seasonable relaxation of mind: not to insist that, in the opinion of an illustrious *Roman*, no one can be said to enjoy liberty, who has not sometimes the privilege of doing nothing. All employments, however, in all countries, afford some intervals of leisure; and there is an active spirit in *European* minds which no climate, or situation in life, can wholly repress; which justifies the ancient notion, that *a change of toil is a species of repose*; and which seems to consider nothing done, or learned, while any thing remains unperformed, or unknown. Several *Englishmen*, therefore, who resided in a country every part of which abounds in objects of curious and useful speculation, concurred in opinion, that a Society instituted at

* "ASIATIC RESEARCHES, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of ASIA." London, 1806.

Calcutta, on the plan of those established in the principal cities of *Europe*, might possibly be the means of concentrating all the valuable knowledge which might occasionally be attained in *Asia*; or of preserving at least many little tracts and essays the writers of which might not think them of sufficient importance for separate publication. The *Asiatick Society* was accordingly formed on the 15th of January, 1784, by those gentlemen whose names are distinguished by asterisks in the list of members at the end of this book; and ample materials have been already collected for two large volumes, on a variety of new and interesting subjects. By this publication the Institution may be considered as having taken root; but the plant will flourish, or fade, according as the activity, or remissness, of the members and their correspondents shall promote or obstruct its growth. It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science, in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the President or the Secretary at *Calcutta*; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease: for it is morally impossible that a few men, whatever be their zeal, who have great public duties to discharge, and difficult private studies connected with those duties, can support such an establishment, without the most assiduous and eager auxiliaries.

"Before we proceed to give a short history of the Institution, it may be proper to declare, that the Society will pass no decision, in their *collective* capacity, on any point of literature or philosophy; but that the writers of such dissertations, as they shall think worthy to be published from time to time, must hold themselves individually responsible for their own opinions; a declaration which is conformable, we believe, to the practice of similar societies in *Europe*.

"It having been resolved to follow, as nearly as possible, the plan of the *Royal Society at London*, of which the *King* is *Patron*, it was agreed, at the first regular meeting, that the following letter should be sent to the Governor-General and Council, as the *Executive Power* in the Company's territories: and their answer, which is also subjoined, was received in the course of the next month."

So far the introduction to the *Asiatic Researches*—the first document of organised Oriental research in India. Before reproducing the correspondence between the Society and Warren Hastings, Esquire, it may be interesting to record the names of the founders in full. The names of these original founders of the *Asiatick Society* are—The President, Sir William Jones, Knight; the Secretary, John Herbert Harrington,

Esquire ; and the following members : David Anderson, Francis Balfour, M. D , George Hilario Barlow, John Bristow, Ralph Broome, Reuben Burrow, General John Carnac, Sir Robert Chambers, Kt., Sir William Chambers, Charles Chapman, Burrish Crispe, Charles Crofts, Major William Davy, Francis Fowke, Francis Gladwin, Thomas Graham, Lieutenant Charles Hamilton, Thomas Law, Nathaniel Middleton, John David Paterson, Captain John Scott, Henry Vansittart, and Charles Wilkins.

It is curious to note that only two, the first and the last of these original members, ever attained to any high distinction in scholarship. Two observations are suggested by these names: *first*, the permanence of Anglo-Indian families ; and, *second*, the large proportion of Scotchmen amongst them. It is also notable that no native of India took part in this first gathering of students of India's past.

This is the letter mentioned in the introduction :—

To The Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

Governor-General, President ;

EDWARD WHELER,

JOHN MACPHERSON,

and JOHN STABLES, ESQUIRES,

Members of the Council of Fort William, in Bengal.

HONOURABLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

A SOCIETY, of which we are members, having been instituted for the purpose of enquiring into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of *Asia*, we are desirous that you will honour us with accepting the title of our *Patrons*, and request you to consider this application as a token of the great respect, with which We are

HONOURABLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,
Your most obedient and most humble Servants,

JOHN HYDE,

WILLIAM JONES,

JOHN CARNAC,

DAVID ANDERSON,

WILLIAM CHAMBERS,

FRANCIS GLADWIN,

JONATHAN DUNCAN,

THOMAS LAW,

CHARLES WILKINS,

JOHN DAVID PATERSON,

CHARLES CHAPMAN,

CHARLES HAMILTON,

GEORGE HILARIO BARLOW,

Calcutta, January 22nd, 1184.

THE ANSWER

GENTLEMEN,

WE very much approve and applaud your endeavours to promote the extension of knowledge, by the means which your local advantages afford you, in a degree, perhaps, exceeding those of any part of the *globe* ; and we derive great hopes of your attainment of so important an end from our personal knowledge of the abilities and talents of the gentlemen whose names we read in the subscription to your address.

We accept the title you have been so desirous of conferring upon us of *Patrons* to your Society, and shall be happy to avail ourselves of any occasion that may occur of contributing to its success.

We are, GENTLEMEN,
Your most obedient humble Servants,
WARREN HASTINGS,
EDWARD WHEELER,
JOHN MACPHERSON,
JOHN STABLES.

Mr. Hastings therefore appeared, as Governor-General, among the Patrons of the new Society ; but he seemed, in his private station, as the first liberal promoter of useful knowledge in *Bengal*, and especially as the great encourager of Persian and Sanscrit literature, to deserve a particular mark of distinction ; and he was accordingly requested, in a short letter, to accept the title of President. It was, indeed, much doubted whether he would accept any office the duties of which he could not have leisure to fulfil ; but an offer of the honorary title was intended as a tribute of respect which the occasion seemed to demand, and which could not have been omitted without an appearance of inattention to his distinguished merit. His answer is also annexed :—

GENTLEMEN,

I AM highly sensible of the honour which you have been pleased to confer on me, in nominating me to be the President of your Society, and I hope you will both admit and approve the motives which impel me to decline it.

From an early conviction of the utility of the Institution, it was my anxious wish that I might be, by whatever means, instrumental in promoting the success of it, but not in the mode which you have proposed, which, I fear, would rather prove, if of any effect, an incumbrance on it.

I have not the leisure requisite to discharge the functions of such a station, nor, if I did possess it, would it be consistent with the pride which every man may be allowed to avow in the pursuit or support of the objects of his personal credit, to accept the first station in a department in which the superior talents of my immediate followers in it would shine with a lustre from which mine must suffer much in the comparison ; and to stand in so conspicuous a point of view the only ineffective member of a body which is yet in its infancy, and composed of members with whose abilities I am, and have long been, in the habit of intimate communication, and know them to be all eminently qualified to fill their respective parts in it.

On these grounds I request your permission to decline the offer which you have done me the honour to make to me, and to yield my pretensions to the gentleman whose genius planned the Institution, and is most capable of conducting it to the attainment of the great and splendid purposes of its formation.

I, at the same time, earnestly solicit your acceptance of services in any way in which they can be, and I hope that they may be, rendered useful to your Researches.

I have the honour to be,
GENTLEMEN,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM,

January 30th, 1784.

On the receipt of this letter, SIR WILLIAM JONES was nominated President of the Society ; and at their next meeting, he delivered the following Discourse :—

“ When I was at sea last August, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently desired to visit, I found, one evening, on inspecting the operations of the day, that *India* lay before us, and *Persia* on our left, whilst a breeze from *Arabia* blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself, and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind which had early been accustomed to contemplate with delight, the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this Eastern world. It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of *Asia*, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions of men. I could not help remarking how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved : and when I considered, with pain, that, in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, such inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement, or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with a hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that, if in any country or community, such an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in *Bengal* ; with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted.

“ You have realized that hope, gentlemen, and even anticipated a declaration of my wishes, by your alacrity in laying the foundation of a Society for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Natural Productions, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of *Asia*. I may confidently fortell, that an Institution so likely to afford entertainment, and convey knowledge to mankind, will advance to maturity by slow, yet certain, degrees ; as the *Royal Society* which, at first, was only a meeting of a few literary friends at *Oxford*, rose gradually to that splendid zenith, at which a *Halley* was their Secretary, and a *Newton* their President.

“ Although it is my humble opinion, that, in order to ensure our success and permanence, we must keep a middle course, between a languid remissness and an over-zealous activity,

and that the tree which you have auspiciously planted, will produce fairer blossoms, and more exquisite fruit, if it be not at first exposed to too great a glare of sunshine, yet I take the liberty of submitting to your consideration a few general ideas on the plan of your Society; assuring you, that, whether you reject or approve them, your correction will give me both pleasure and instruction, as your flattering attentions have already conferred on me the highest honour.

"It is your design, I conceive, to take an ample space for your learned investigations, bounding them only by the geographical limits of *Asia*; so that, considering *Hindustan* as a centre, and turning your eyes in idea to the North, you have on your right many important kingdoms in the Eastern Peninsula; the ancient and wonderful empire of *China*, with all her *Tartarian* dependencies; and that of *Japan*, with the cluster of precious islands, in which many singular curiosities have too long been concealed. Before you lies that prodigious chain of mountains which formerly, perhaps, were a barrier against the violence of the sea; and beyond them the very interesting country of *Tibet* and the vast regions of *Tartary*, from which, as from the *Trojan* horse of the poets, have issued so many consummate warriors, whose domain has extended at least from the banks of the *Ilissus* to the mouths of the *Ganges*. On your left are the beautiful and celebrated provinces of *Iran*, or *Persia*; the unmeasured, and, perhaps, unmeasurable, deserts of *Arabia*; and the once flourishing kingdom of *Yemen*, with the pleasant isles that the *Arabs* have subdued or colonized: and farther westward, the *Asiatick* dominions of the *Turkish* Sultans, whose moon seems approaching rapidly to its wane. By this great circumference the field of your useful researches will be inclosed: but, since *Egypt* had unquestionably an old connexion with this country, if not with *China*; since the language and literature of the *Abyssinians* bear a manifest affinity with those of *Asia*; since the *Arabian* arms prevailed along the *African* coast of the *Mediterranean*, and even erected a powerful dynasty on the continent of *Europe*: you may not be displeased occasionally to follow the streams of *Asiatick* learning a little beyond its natural boundary. And if it be necessary, or convenient, that a short name, or epithet, be given to our Society, in order to distinguish it in the world, that of *Asiatick* appears to be both classical and proper, whether we consider the place or the object of the Institution; and preferable to *Oriental*, which is, in truth, a word merely relative, and though commonly used in *Europe*, conveys no very distinct idea.

"If it now be asked, what are the intended objects of our enquiries within these spacious limits, we answer,—MAN and

NATURE: whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other. Human knowledge has been elegantly analysed according to the three great faculties of the mind—*memory*, *reason*, and *imagination*,—which we constantly find employed in arranging and retaining, combining and distinguishing, combining and diversifying, the ideas which we receive through our senses, or acquire by reflection; hence the three main branches of learning are *history*, *science*, and *art*. The first comprehends either an account of natural productions, or the genuine records of empires and states; the second embraces the whole circle of pure and mixed mathematics, together with ethicks and law, as far as they depend on the reasoning faculty; and the third includes all the beauties of imagery and the charms of invention, displayed in modulated language, or represented in colour, figure, or sound.

“Agreeably to this analysis, you will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabrick of nature; will correct the geography of *Asia* by new observations and discoveries; will trace the annals, and even traditions, of those nations who, from time to time, have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions, civil and religious. You will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetick and geometry, mensuration, mechanicks, opticks, astronomy, and general physicks; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetorick, and dialectick; their skill in chirurgery and medicine; and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chemistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade; and whilst you enquire, with pleasure, into their musick, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not forget those inferior arts by which the comforts, and even elegancies, of social life are supplied or improved. You may observe that I have omitted their languages, the diversity and difficulty of which are a sad obstacle to the progress of useful knowledge; but I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself. The attainment of them is, however, indispensibly necessary; and if the *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Turkish*, and *Arabick* could be added, not only the *Sanscrit*, the treasures of which we may now hope to see unlocked, but even the *Chinese*, *Tartarian*, *Japanese*, and the various insular dialects, an immense mine would then be open, in which we might labour with equal delight and advantage.

“Having submitted to you these imperfect thoughts on the *limits* and *objects* of our future Society, I request your permission to add a few hints on the *conduct* of it in its present immature state.

"LUCIAN begins one of his satirical pieces against historians with declaring, that the only true proposition in his work was that it should contain nothing true : and, perhaps, it may be advisable at first, in order to prevent any difference of sentiment on particular points not immediately before us, to establish but one rule, namely, to have no rules at all. This only, I mean, that, in the infancy of any Society, there ought to be no confinement, no trouble, no expense, no unnecessary formality. Let us, if you please, for the present, have weekly evening meetings in this hall, for the purpose of hearing original papers read on such subjects as fall within the circle of your enquiries. Let all curious and learned men be invited to send their tracts to our Secretary, for which they ought immediately to receive our thanks : and if, towards the end of each year, we should be supplied with a sufficiency of valuable materials to fill a volume, let us present our *Asiatick Miscellany* to the literary world, who have derived so much pleasure and information from the agreeable work of *Kæmpfer*, than which we can scarce propose a better model, that they will accept with eagerness any fresh entertainment of the same kind. You will not, perhaps, be disposed to admit mere translations of considerable length, except of such unpublished essays or treatises as may be transmitted to us by native authors : but whether you will enrol, as members, any number of learned natives, you will hereafter decide, with many other questions, as they happen to arise : and you will think, I presume, that all questions should be decided, on a ballot, by a majority of two-thirds ; and that nine members should be requisite to constitute a board for such decisions. These points, however, and all others I submit entirely, Gentlemen, to your determination, having neither wish nor pretension to claim any more than my single right of suffrage. One thing only, as essential to your dignity, I recommend with earnestness : on no account to admit a new member who has not expressed a voluntary desire to become so. And in that case you will not require, I suppose, any other qualification than a love of knowledge, and a zeal for the promotion of it.

"Your Institution, I am persuaded, will ripen of itself ; and your meetings will be amply supplied with interesting and amusing papers, as soon as the object of your enquiries shall be generally known. There are (it may not be delicate to name them, but there are) many from whose important studies I cannot but conceive high expectations. And, as far as mere labour will avail, I sincerely promise that, if in my allotted sphere of jurisprudence, or in any intellectual excursion that I may have leisure to make, I should be so fortunate as to collect, by accident, either fruits or flowers which may

seem valuable or pleasing, I shall offer my humble *nezv* to your Society with as much respectful zeal as to the greatest potentate on earth."

So far the first presidential address of SIR WILLIAM JONES, Knight, to the *Asiatick Society* of Bengal. It is curious, and indeed remarkable, to note his entire unconsciousness of the real ends which the movement he inaugurated was ultimately destined to fulfil. He and his colleagues are in search of 'curious,' 'entertaining,' or 'elegant' subjects; they range over the whole continent of *Asia*, in imagination, and even make excursions to *Egypt*, *Africa* and *Spain*, without any defined sense at all of which countries, or which studies, merit their real attention, or are destined to bear real fruit of profound and lasting value.

For it will hardly be disputed to-day, and, with every year that passes, it becomes more certain, that the heart and centre of Asiatic studies, the element really vital to human life, is the high and earnest philosophy of India, with its deep intuition of the interior light of the soul, its unerring instinct for unswerving, inflexible moral law. We have, in this philosophy, not merely a subject of entertaining, curious, or elegant research, but a possession of lasting value; not less indispensable, not less essential, than the message of the Greeks, with their unerring instinct for beauty; not less to be esteemed than the profound instinct of Plato, the high seriousness of Dante, the broad and exquisite humanity of Shakespeare.

But SIR WILLIAM JONES and his colleagues had not even a dawning presentiment of their true work, and the true destiny of the Institution they founded. They talk, rather at random, of useful knowledge, of natural products, of researches into chirurgery, anatomy, astronomy; they weave elegancies about memory, imagination, and reason; they write of arts, literature, and sciences; but say not a word of philosophy, not a word of the high idealism of *India*, with its broad sanity, and perfect lucidity, which is *Asia's* and *India's* most perfect gift to the world.

Like the nomads of Gobi and Tarim, haunted by vague traditions of buried cities, of priceless treasures hidden beneath the shifting sands where their tents are pitched, they roam hither and thither, dreaming of treasures and the finding of them, but utterly uncertain where their search should begin, and not less uncertain of the true nature of the treasures they might be destined to find.

There is a delicious breath of the eighteenth century, with all its quaintness and delicacy and all its lack of high moral earnestness and profound insight, in this discourse of SIR WILLIAM JONES. One feels at once that he is writing under an

influence and inspiration that have already passed utterly away. It is the spirit of Gray which inspires his languages, and suggests his placid elegancies ; the spirit of lines like these :—

“ Woods that wave o'er Delphi's steep,
Isles that crown th' Aegean deep,
Fields that cool Ilissus laves,
Or, where Meander's amber waves
In lingering lab'rins creep,
How do your tuneful echoes languish,
Mute, but to the voice of anguish !
Where each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breathed around ;
Every shade and hallowed fountain
Murmur'd deep a solemn sound :
Till the sad nine, in Greece's evil hour,
Left their Parnassus for the Latian plains.
Alike they scorn the pomp of tyrant power,
And coward Vice, that revels in her chains.
When Latium had her lofty spirit lost,
They sought, O Albion ! next, thy sea-encircled coast.”

Or, it is the spirit of Collins, the spirit of such verse as this :—

“ Where is thy native simple heart
Devote to Virtue, Fancy, Art ?
Arise, as in that elder time,
Warm, energetic, chaste, sublime !”

In a word, the whole attitude of mind, the whole moral and spiritual atmosphere of SIR WILLIAM JONES and his friends, was anything but calculated to call forth the deep and high message of India ; was anything but timed to the iron chords of intuition and divinity which are now beginning to resound through the heart of the modern world.

We must, therefore, look rather for curious and entertaining information, or at best for ‘useful knowledge,’ in the early volumes of the *Asiatick Researches* ; the lasting reality, the wisdom of ancient India, was destined to find different outlet to the Western world, and its dawn and growth in Europe may form the subject of our future study.

In the meantime, we may return to the *Asiatick Researches*, with their elegant and entertaining contents. The first paper in the *Researches* is from the pen of SIR WILLIAM JONES, Knight, on the subject of transliteration. He makes himself very angry over the various systems which seek to render the sound of foreign language to the ear, rather than their orthography to the eye. ‘To set this point in a strong light, we need only suppose that the *French* had adopted a system of letters wholly different from ours, and of which we had no types in our printing-houses : let us conceive an *Englishman*, acquainted with their language, to be pleased with MALHERBE'S

well-known imitation of *Horace*, and desirous of quoting it in some piece of criticism : he would read it thus :—

- ' La mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles :
- ' On a beau la prier :
- ' La cruelle qu'elle est se bouche les oreilles,
- ' Et nous laisse crier.
- ' Le pauvre en sa cabane, ou le chaume le couvre,
- ' Est sujet à ses loix,
- ' Et la garde, qui veille aux barriers du *Louvre*
- ' N'en défend pas nos rois !'

" Would he then express these eight verses, in *Roman* characters, exactly as the *French* themselves in fact express them ; or would he decorate his composition with a passage more resembling the dialect of savages, than that of a polished nation ? His pronunciation, good or bad, would, perhaps, be thus represented :—

- ' Law more aw day reegyewrsaw nool otruh parellyuh,
- ' Onne aw bo law preeay ;
- ' Law crooellyuh Kellay suh booshuh lays oreellyah,
- ' Ay noo laysuh creeay.
- ' Luh povre ong saw cawbawn oo luh chomuh lah coovruh,
- ' Ay soozyet aw say lwaw,
- ' Ay law gawrduh kee velly ò bawryayruh dyoo Loovruh
- ' Nong dayfong paw no rwaw !'

" The second system of *Asiatick* orthography consists in scrupulously rendering letter for letter without any particular care to preserve the pronunciation ; and, as long as this mode proceeds by unvaried rules, it seems clearly entitled to the preference."

That the question was by no means so clear as SIR WILLIAM JONES believed it, is evident from the fact that the controversy as to transliteration is going on still. Three years ago, there were, and there probably are still, three rubber stamps—emblems of the highest civilization, and the latest improvements—in a district office, which rendered the name of the district in three different ways, Murshidabad, Moorshidabad, and Moorshedabad, in clear defiance of SIR WILLIAM JONES and SIR WILLIAM HUNTER.

The truth is, the difficulty lies, not in the theory of transliteration, but in the great English language, which has a vowel system unequalled for chaotic confusion in the whole range of written speech, while its consonants are hardly better. This was early noticed by Mr. Halhed, who had the reputation of being one of the three Europeans in India who had mastered Sanskrit in those early days, when, of course, no one in Europe even knew the letters of the language of the gods.

Mr. Halhed pertinently remarked that the two greatest defects in the orthography of any language, are the application

of the same letter to several different sounds, and of different letters to the same sound, and frankly admitted that both these defects were so common in *English*, that he was exceedingly embarrassed in the choice of letters to express the sound of the *Bengal* vowels, and was at last by no means satisfied by his own selection ; and SIR WILLIAM JONES endorses his grievance in an eloquent lament :—

“ *All things abound with error*, as the old searchers for truth remarked with despondence : but it is really deplorable that our first step from total ignorance should be into gross inaccuracy ; and that we should begin our education in *England* with learning to read *the five vowels*, two of which, as we are taught to pronounce them, are clearly diphthongs. There are, indeed, five simple vocal sounds in our language, as in that of *Rome*, which occur in the words *an innocent bull*, though not precisely in their natural order ; for we have retained the true arrangement of the letters, while we capriciously disarrange them in pronunciation ; so that our eyes are satisfied, and our ears disappointed.”

SIR WILLIAM JONES then quotes, with somewhat qualified approval, the opinion of Mr. Charles Wilkins on this same subject of transliteration. But practice is ever so much better than precept ; so we may realise Mr. Wilkins' ideal far better from one of his notes on a Royal Indian grant, from the same first volume of the *Asiatick Researches* :—

“ *Sombot*,” says this note, “ *Sombot*—implies the æra of Raajaa Beekromadeetyo. The *Brahmans* throughout Hindostan keep times according to the three following epochas : The *Kolyobdo*, from the flight of Kreeshno, or commencement of the *Kolee Yoog*, 4884 years. The *Sombot*, from the death of *Beekromadeetyo*, 1837 years. The *Sokoobdo*, from the death of Raajaa *Soko*, 1703.”

In this wonderful note, one hardly knows whether to admire more the æra and epocha or the Raajaa and *Kolee Yoog*. It is only fair to Mr. Charles Wilkins, however, to say that he qualifies his choice : “ In this translation, *Sanskrit* names are written as they are pronounced in *Bengal* ; but in the following paper, the translator has adopted the more elegant pronunciation of *Varanes* and *Cashmir*.”

For the benefit of the uninitiated, it may be worth while to point out that *Varanes* and *Benares* are variants of the same name. Certain passages in Wilkins' translation did not meet with SIR WILLIAM JONES' entire approval. One in particular he retranslates thus : “ By whose policy the great Prince *Devepala* made the earth tributary, from the father *Reva*, whose piles of rocks are moist with juice from the heads of lascivious elephants, to the father of *Gauri*, whose white mountains are

brightened with beams from the moon of Iswara ; *and* as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and with the setting Sun."

One at once recognises the fitness of this mode of rendering. In an account of the Sculptures and Ruins at Mavalipuram, by William Chambers, Esq., there is a passage well worth quoting :—

"The rock, or hill of stone, above mentioned, is that which first engrosses the attention on approaching the place ; for, as it arises abruptly out of a level plain of great extent, consists chiefly of one single stone, and is situated very near to the sea beach, it is such a kind of object as an inquisitive traveller would naturally turn aside to examine. Its shape is also singular and romantic, and, from a distant view, has an appearance like some antique and lofty edifice. On coming near to the foot of the rock to the north, works of imagery and sculpture crowd so thick upon the eye, as might seem to favour the idea of a petrified town, like those that have been fabled in different parts of the world by too credulous travellers. Among these one object, though a mean one, attracts the attention, on account of the grotesque and ridiculous nature of the design ; it consists of two monkeys cut out of one stone, one of them in a stooping posture, while the other is taking the insects out of his head." Mr. Chambers is very severe on the 'wretched superstitions' of the *Bramins* : "It is not, however, improbable, that the rest of this history may contain, like the mythology of *Greece* and *Rome*, a great deal of real matter of fact, though enveloped in dark and figurative representations. Through the disguise of these we may discern some imperfect records of great events, and of revolutions that have happened in remote times ; and they perhaps merit our attention the more, as it is not likely that any records of ancient *Hindoo* history exist but in this obscure and fantastic dress. Their poets seem to have been their only historians as well as divines ; and whatever they relate, is wrapped up in this burlesque garb, set off, by way of ornament, with circumstances hugely incredible and absurd, and all this without any date, and in no order or method than such as the poets fancy suggested and found most convenient. Nevertheless, by comparing names and grand events recorded by them, with those interspersed in the histories of other nations, and by calling in the assistance of ancient monuments, coins, and inscriptions, as occasion shall offer, some probable conjectures, at least, if not important discoveries, may, it is hoped, be made on these interesting subjects. It is much to be regretted that a blind zeal, attended with a total want of curiosity, in the *Mahommedan* governor of this country, has been so hostile to

the preservation of *Hindoo* monuments and coins. But a spirit of enquiry among the *Europeans* may yet perhaps be successful ; and an instance which relates to the place above described, though itself a subject of regret, leaves room to hope that futurity may yet have in store some useful discoveries. The *Kawzy* of *Madras*, who had often occasion to go to a place in the neighbourhood of *Mahabalipoor*, assured the writer of this account, that within his remembrance, a ryot of those parts had found, in plowing his ground, a pot of gold and silver coins, with characters on them which no one in those parts, *Hindoo* or *Mahomedan*, was able to decipher. He added, however, that all search for them would now be vain, for they had doubtless been long ago devoted to the crucible, as, in their original form, no one there thought them of any value."

It is to be regretted that ' the spirit of inquiry among the Europeans ' has not, after the lapse of a hundred years, been as strikingly successful as Mr. Chambers may have had reasonable grounds to hope it would be ; otherwise we should not find the late Professor Whitney writing that ' all dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again.'

A very curious—perhaps, the most curious—thing in this first volume of *Asiatick Researches* is Mr. Turner's account of his visit to the ' Teeshoo Lama ' of Tibet ; and, as Mr. Turner's story is not very long, we may very well quote it in full :—

" On the 3rd of December, 1783, I arrived at *Terpaling*, situated on the summit of a high hill ; and it was about noon when I entered the gates of the monastery, which was not long since erected for the reception and education of *Teeshoo Lama*. He resides in a palace in the centre of the monastery, which occupies about a mile of ground in circumference, and the whole is encompassed by a wall. The several buildings serve for the accommodation of three hundred *Gylongs*, appointed to perform religious service with *Teeshoo Lama*, until he shall be removed to the monastery and Musnud of *Teeshoo Loomboo*. It is unusual to make visits either here or in *Bootan* on the day of arrival : we therefore rested this day, only receiving and sending messages of compliment.

" On the 4th, in the morning, I was allowed to visit *Teeshoo Lama*, and found him placed in great form upon his Musnud. On the left side stood his father and mother, and on the other, the officer particularly appointed to wait upon his person. The Musnud is a fabric of silk cushions piled upon one another until the seat is elevated to the height of four feet from the floor ; embroidered silk covered the top ; and the sides were decorated with pieces of silk of various colours, suspended from the upper edge, and hanging down. By the particular request

of *Teeshoo Lama's* father, *Mr. Saunders* and myself wore the English dress.

"I advanced, and, as is the custom, presented a white pelong handkerchief ; and delivered also into the *Lama's* hands the Governor's present of a string of pearls and coral, while the other things were set down before. Having performed the ceremony of the exchange of handkerchiefs with his father and mother, we took our seats on the right of *Teeshoo Lama*.

"A multitude of persons, all those ordered to escort me, were admitted to his presence, and allowed to make their prostrations. The infant *Lama* turned towards them, and received them all with a cheerful and significant look of complacency. His father then addressed me in the *Tibet* language, which was explained to me by the interpreter, that *Teeshoo Lama* had been used to remain at rest until this time of day ; but he had awoke very early this morning, and could not be prevailed on to remain longer in bed ; for, added he, 'the *English* gentlemen were arrived, and he could not sleep.' During the time we were in the room, I observed the *Lama's* eyes were scarce ever turned from us, and when our cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy, and throwing back his head, and contracting the skin of his brow, he kept making a noise, for he could not speak, until they were filled again. He took out of a golden cup, containing confects, some burnt sugar, and, stretching out his arm, made a motion to his attendants to give them to me. He then sent some in like manner to *Mr. Saunders*, who was with me. I found myself, though visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something ; for it was hinted to me, that, notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand. However, his incapacity of answering excused me many words ; and I just briefly said, 'That the Governor-General, on receiving the news of his decease in China, was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and continued to lament his absence from the world, until the cloud that had overcast the happiness of this nation by his re-appearance was dispelled, and then, if possible, a greater degree of joy had taken place than he had experienced of grief on receiving the first mournful news. The Governor wished he might long continue to illumine the world with his presence ; and was hopeful that the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them would not be diminished, but rather that it might become still greater than before ; and that, by his continuing to show kindness to my countrymen, there might be an extensive communication between his votaries and the *British* nation.' The little creature turned, looked steadfastly towards me with the appearance of much attention, while I spoke, and nodded, with

repeated but slow movements of the head, as though he understood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply. The parents, who stood by all the time, eyed their son with a look of affection, and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy at the propriety of the young *Lama's* conduct. His whole regard was turned to us, he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at the time ; and with whatever pains his manners may have been formed so correct, yet I must own his behaviour on this occasion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any action or sign of authority.

"The scene in which I was here brought to take a part, was too new and extraordinary, however trivial, if not absurd, as it may appear to some, not to claim from me great attention, and, consequently, minute remark.

"*Teeshoo Lama* is at this time about 18 months of age. He did not speak a word, but made most expressive signs, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. His complexion is of that hue which, in *England*, we should term rather brown, but not without colour. His features good, small black eyes, an animated expression of countenance ; and altogether I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen. I had but little conversation with the father. He told me he had direction to entertain me three days on account of *Teeshoo Lama* ; and entreated me with so much earnestness to pass another on his own account, that I could not resist complying with his request. He then invited us for to-morrow to an entertainment he proposed to make at a small distance from the monastery, which invitation, having accepted, we took our leave, and retired.

"In the course of the afternoon I was visited by two officers of the *Lama's* household, both of whom are immediately attendant on his person. He sat and conversed with me some time ; enquired after Mr. *Bogle*, whom both of them had seen ; and then, remarking how extremely fortunate it was the young *Lama's* having regarded us with very particular notice, observed on the very strong partiality of the former *Teeshoo Lama* for the *English*, and that the present one often tried to utter the name of the *English*. I encouraged the thought, hopeful that they would teach the prejudice to strengthen with his increasing age ; and they assured me that should he, when he begins to speak, have forgot, they would early teach him to repeat the name of *Hastings*.

"On the morning of the 6th, I again waited on *Teeshoo Lama*, to present some curiosities I had brought for him from *Bengal*. He was very much struck with a small clock, and had it held to him, watching for a long time the

revolutions of the moment hand: he admired it, but with gravity, and without any childish emotion. There was nothing in the ceremony differing from the first day's visit. The father and mother were present. I staid about half an hour and retired, to return and take leave in the afternoon.

"The votaries of *Teeshoo Lama* already began to flock in numbers to pay their adorations to him. Few are yet admitted to his presence. Those who come, esteem it a happiness if he is but shown to them from the window, and they are able to make their prostrations before he is removed. There came to-day a party of *Kilmooks* (*Culmuc Tartars*) for purposes of devotion, and to make their offerings to the *Lama*. When I returned from visiting him, I saw them standing at the entrance of the square in front of the palace, each with his cap off, his hands being placed together elevated, and held even with his face. They remained upwards of half an hour in this attitude, their eyes fixed on the apartment of the *Lama*, and anxiety very visibly depicted in their countenances. At length, I imagine, he appeared to them; for they began all together by lifting their hands, still closed, above their heads, then bringing them even with their faces, and after lowering them to their breasts, then separating them: to assist them in sinking and rising, they dropt upon their knees, and struck their heads against the ground. This with the same motions was repeated nine times. They afterwards advanced to deliver their presents, consisting of talents of gold and silver, with the products of their country, to the proper officer, who having received them, they retired, apparently, with much satisfaction.

"Upon enquiry, I learnt that offerings made in this manner are by no means unfrequent, and, in reality, constitute one of the most copious sources from which the *Lamas* of *Tibet* derive their wealth.

"No one thinks himself degraded by performing these humiliations. The persons I allude to, who came for this devout purpose, were attendants on a man of superior rank, that seemed to be more engrossed than the rest in the performance of the ceremony. He wore a rich satin garment, lined with fox-skins; and a cap with a tassel of scarlet silk flowing from the centre of the crown upon the sides all round, and edged with a broad band of *Siberian* fur.

"According to appointment, I went in the afternoon to make my last visit to *Teeshoo Lama*. I received his dispatches for the Governor-General, and from his parents two pieces of satin for the Governor, with many compliments.

"They presented me with a vest, lined with lambskins, making many assurances of a long remembrance, and observing

that at this time *Teeshoo Lama* is an infant, and incapable of conversing ; but they hoped to see me again, when he shall become of age. I replied, that by favour of the *Lama*, I might again visit this country : I looked forward with anxiety to the time when he should mount the Musnud, and should then be extremely happy in the opportunity of paying my respects. After some expressions and protestations of mutual regard, my visit was concluded. I received the handkerchiefs, and took my leave ; and am to pursue my journey toward *Bengal* to-morrow at the dawn of day."

With this curious and entertaining recital, we may break off for the present. It brings to mind, more than any thing, that strange sentence of Emerson's :—

"Do not be deceived by dimples and curls. I tell you that baby is a thousand years old."

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

B. C. S. (Retd.)

M. R. A. S.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. II.—THE CONQUERING MARCH OF RUSSIA.

Russia's March towards India. By an Indian Officer. With a Map. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company. 1894.

BOOKS on the progress of the Russian arms and arts in Central Asia have of late been comparatively rare. The series of raids, campaigns, and battles—from the storming of the Khokandi frontier fort of Ak Masjid in 1853 to the annexation of the Merv Oasis in 1884, which in thirty years had made of Central Asia an appanage of the Empire of the Czar—was concluded with the delimitation of the Russo-Afghan frontiers; and, for the last decade, no further move forward has been made.

The voices of alarm have been stilled—some by death, some by the apathy of the public; and the words of the anonymous Indian Officer who now again calls our flagging attention to the slower, but still sure, approach of the Muscovite march to the Anglo-Indian frontier line, sounds like the “voice of one crying in the wilderness.” But we say to him that hath ears to hear, “Let him hear.” This book is the first attempt to place before us clearly the connected history of the military movements of Russia, southwards and eastwards, which have carried the banners and the boundary pillars of the Czar from the banks of the Dnieper and the Ural mountain chain to the mouth of the Danube and the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush. It is now little more than two hundred years since Peter the Great led his newly-raised Russian battalions, drilled and disciplined by Lefort and other French and foreign officers, to the siege of the Turkish fortress of Azoff, which barred the way to the waters of the Black Sea.

Throughout the two succeeding centuries, Russia unrolls before us a long and brilliant panorama of Oriental conquest, a dramatic series of desperate struggles, crowned with many triumphs, chequered by few defeats, and always culminating in fresh and vast acquisitions of territory. In these two centuries, Russia has destroyed two Musalman States, the Khanates of Crim-Tartary and Khokand, and has absorbed their dominions into her own: she has shorn the Ottoman Empire of half its territory in Europe and of much in Asia; and has taken Georgia and Armenia from Persia: Bokhara and Khiva have been reduced to vassalage, and only await their turn to become provinces of a Christian Empire: the tameless tribes of the Caucasus have seen the crests of their mountains

crowned by Russian forts, and the Turkoman's waterless deserts are to-day traversed by a Russian railway; neither the native valour of the Charkas and Lazgi, nor the fierce fanaticism of Islam, nor the most stupendous obstacles of nature have availed to stay the onward march of the conquering Muscovite, who has planted his victorious banners at the threshold of the Bá*b-i-Humáyún* and on the battlements of the City of Timur.

When Baber founded the Mogul dynasty in Hindustan, the Russians were vassals to Musalman Tartars. Ibn Batuta, describing his travels in the land of the Tartars, says: "Between this place and Al Sarái, which belongs to the Sultan, there is a distance of ten days' journey. At the distance of one day from this place are the mountains of the Russians, who are Christians, with red hair and blue eyes, an ugly and perfidious people. They have silver-mines, and from their country is silver bullion brought. With it they buy and sell: each piece weighing five ounces."

Al Sarái, the palace where the moving tabernacle of the Khan of Kizil Urdu, or Golden Horde, was fixed after the Mongol conquest of Russia, is alluded to by the oldest of English poets, Chaucer, in the lines:—

"At Sara, in the lande of Tartarie
There dwelled a King who werreyed Russie:"

The little Grand Duchy of Muscovy was then surrounded on all sides by enemies, and its orthodox inhabitants were beset by the champions of hostile creeds. The Lutheran Swedes barred the way to the Baltic; the Catholic Poles intercepted the trade and civilisation of Western Europe; the Musalman Turks held all the shores of the Black Sea, and their cousins and allies, the Mogul Tartars, occupied the mouths of the Don and the Volga. But the native energy of the new-born nation broke through the ring of its encircling foes at the point of least resistance. The crumbling Mogul power fell before the vigorous blows of its Christian vassals, and the Czar, Ivan the Terrible, successively attacked and destroyed the Tartar Khans of Kazan and Astrachan, and opened the way to the Caspian. Bá*tur* (Bahá*dur*) Tora, son of the Khan of the Crimea, was slain in trying to relieve the former city, and the Turks in vain attempted a diversion in favour of the latter. They set themselves to cut a canal at the point where the course of the Don approaches closely to that of the Volga, by which they would have secured a continuous water-way from the Euxine to the Caspian. But the work was interrupted by the furious onslaughts of the savage soldiers of Ivan the Terrible, who routed the Turks and chased them to their boats. This first encounter between the

Russian and Turkish arms took place three centuries ago, and was a presage of their future fortunes.

The Porte, finding the conduct of operations at such a distance and in such a desert country difficult and tedious, consented to an accommodation, and abandoned the cause of the Tartars of Astrachan.

At that time the Ottoman Porte, conscious of its superior strength, in its pride and arrogance, never consented to a permanent peace with any Christian nation, and only granted a truce for a term of years; for the Turks then faithfully fulfilled the obligation of the perpetual "Jahád," or "Ghaza," against the unbelievers, and confidently looked forward to the speedy conquest of all Christian Europe. Their wonderful early career of victory gave some colour of excuse to this idle dream, which was soon to be rudely dispelled. The treaty of Sitvatorok, concluded between the Sultan, Muhammad the Third and the German Emperor Rudolph in A.D. 1606, was the first occasion when the Porte subscribed to a permanent peace with any Christian Power.

All through the seventeenth century there were frequent collisions between the Russians and Cossacks on the one hand, and the Turks and Tartars on the other, along the northern shores of the Black Sea and about the estuaries of the Don and the Dnieper.

The Cossacks descended these rivers in fleets of small boats, to plunder the Turkish lands; while the Tartar horsemen of the Crimea made annual raids on the Southern Provinces of Russia in quest of booty and slaves. Hundreds of Russian women and girls were annually shipped from the ports of the Crimea to the slave-market in Stamboul.

Occasion for quarrel being thus never wanting, several times regular hostilities were inaugurated by the Turks against their Russian neighbours, but the indecisive and petty operations that resulted were terminated by equally fruitless accommodations, and things always went on the same as before. But in the year 1678, the first war occurred between Turkey and Russia on a large scale. The debatable ground which always lay between the frontiers of Christendom and Islam (it would have been called a Neutral Zone in modern diplomatic *parlance*) was occupied by colonies of "Kazaks" (Turkish for robber or free-booter), refugees from justice, or vengeance, in the neighbouring kingdoms, who here lived the free life of outlaws, and justified their predatory and piratical practices by the plea that they were waged against enemies to their race and faith.

Though these Moss-troopers welcomed refugees of all creeds and nations, the majority of them were of Russian race and

of orthodox faith. The Zaporavian Cossacks, who dwelt in the islands of the Dnieper, had long acknowledged the suzerainty of Poland, who gave them her countenance and protection in return for the service they rendered in defending her frontiers from the raids of the Tartars. But in the seventeenth century the great Catholic re-action took place in Europe, and the Pope and his zealous followers spared no pains to recover their lost supremacy. In France, Henry the Fourth fell under the dagger of Ravallac; in Germany, the flames of the Thirty Years' War threatened to consume Lutheranism, root and branch; and in Poland, the bigot cardinal-king, John Casimir, was induced by the Jesuits to abolish religious toleration and to embark on the policy of priestly persecution, which ended in destroying the independence of his unhappy country. Poland was sacrificed—and fruitlessly sacrificed—on the altar of the Church of Rome. The orthodox Cossacks were now bitterly persecuted by their Polish masters, to force them to conform to Catholicism; and, in their rage and despair, they turned to the Turk, like the Christian nobles of Bosnia two hundred years before, who unanimously took the turban when they found that the price of assistance from Western Europe was the reception of the Romish ritual. Following the example of these Bosniak Beys, and of the sturdy Calvinist "Sea-beggars" of Holland and Zealand, who wore the badge of the Crescent in their caps as a sign that they would rather serve the Turk than the Pope, these Cossacks escaped from Christian persecution by offering their swords and their services to the Sultan. He graciously accepted them, and even made war on Poland on their behalf: but the Cossacks soon realised that they had "jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire," and were not long in finding out that the little finger of a Turkish Sultan was thicker than the loins of a Polish King. They again transferred their facile allegiance, and this time to a monarch of their own orthodox faith, the Czar of Muscovy: an early instance of the great advantage which has politically accrued to Russia through her championship of the creed so dear to all the Slavonic peoples and Christians of the East. The hatred of the Greeks and the Servians for the Catholic religion always prevented them from heartily allying themselves with the Germans and Venetians during the attacks of the latter upon the decaying Turkish Empire.

But the Sultan was not willing to let the Cossacks escape, and, as he had fought the Poles to gain them, he now proceeded to fight the Russians in order to retain them. As the Czar refused to surrender them to Turkish vengeance, war was declared, and the Grand Vazir, Kara Mustafa, led an army of seventy thousand men to the invasion of the Ukraine. The

first campaign was fruitlessly wasted in the siege of the town of Cherson, which was obstinately defended by the Russians and Cossacks: in the second year, Cherson was taken, and the Turkish Army advanced into the Ukraine; but the Russians retired before him without giving battle, and the privations of campaigning in such a waste country and such a northern latitude, sorely tried the temper of the Turkish soldiery. They complained that the shortness of the nights interfered with the stated times of prayer. The traveller Ibn Batuta had previously been troubled by the same phenomenon. He wrote in his travels: "When, therefore, I was saying the prayer of sunset in that place, which happened in the month of Ramazán, I hasted; nevertheless the time for evening prayer came on, which I also went hastily through. I then said that of midnight, as well as that termed *Al Witr*; but was overtaken by the dawn."

Kara Mustafa and his men were sick of the war, in which his hopes of glory, and theirs of profit, did not seem likely of realisation: and he easily consented to a treaty of peace, which magniloquently proclaimed the magnanimity of the Sultan in granting such easy terms, and said nothing about the real bone of contention, which was quietly carried off by the Russian bear; and Kara Mustafa betook himself to fresh fields of Western war, where he lost his army and his life, and left his name to adorn the triumph of Sobieski.

This may be reckoned as the first regular war between Russia and Turkey: and it is noteworthy as the only occasion on which the Turks attempted an invasion of Russian territory on a large scale. All their subsequent wars were purely defensive; counting this war, there have been ten wars between Russia and Turkey during the two centuries which have elapsed from that time to this: giving an average of one war for every twenty years. In all these wars have the Russians been victorious, save in two—the third war, when Peter the Great was forced to conclude a disadvantageous peace on the banks of the Pruth, with the Turkish sabre at his throat; and the ninth, or Crimean War, when the tables were turned by the intervention of England and France as allies of Turkey.

The second Russo-Turkish war arose out of the defeat of Kara Mustafa before the walls of Vienna. All the nations that had so long been scorned and scourged by the Turk turned upon him in his time of trouble. While the Germans chased him from Hungary, the Venetians landed an army in the Morea, the Poles besieged Kaminiek, and Peter the Great attacked Azoff to gain an outlet to the Black Sea. This war opened a new chapter in the history of Russia's Oriental warfare. Hitherto the Russians had been, in manners and

customs, an Oriental nation ; much of their orientalism dated, no doubt, from the time of the Tartar domination. Their wars were waged in Oriental fashion. In discipline, equipment, and organisation, their armies resembled those of the Tartars and Turks opposed to them. But now Russia had obtained a standing army ; and henceforth she was to oppose the scientific tactics and the improved weapons of modern Europe to the ancient methods of warfare immemorial in Asia. The intelligent direction of the combined action of men in trained and organised bodies was to be employed against foes who trusted for success solely to numbers and valour, and to individual skill in arms and horsemanship. The conditions of warfare between the Russians and the Turks two centuries ago were, in many respects, strangely contrary to what they are at the present day. Then it was the Turks who adhered to the principle of universal service, which enabled them to put armies into the field three and four times as large as the largest force that could be mustered by the greatest European Power. The army which was wrecked by Kara Mustafa's folly at Vienna mustered two hundred thousand men. Their superiority in numbers was most strongly marked in their cavalry, in which arm they are now particularly deficient ; their individual training in marksmanship and horsemanship was as superior then as it is inferior now to that of the rank and file of European armies ; finally, their mode of fighting was skirmishing and the swarm-attack, which, since its abandonment by them, has been forced upon European armies in modern times by the invention of the breech-loader.

In this second war some Oriental methods still obtained in the Russian service, for Peter the Great, at the siege of Azoff, had his chief engineer officer flogged for negligence in carrying out his duty. But the engineer, who was a Dutchman, not understanding Russian methods of discipline, resented his treatment so grievously, that he deserted to the Turks, and, by betraying to them the besieger's plan of attack, caused the failure of the siege. The next year, however, Peter renewed the siege and took the city, and the Dutchman committed suicide to save himself from falling alive into Russian hands.

Peter the Great had too much on his hands in other quarters to allow him to prosecute the war very vigorously ; and the Turks were too distracted by the combined attacks of the Germans, Poles, and Venetians to do more than stand on the defensive. The war was terminated in 1699 by the general peace of Carlowitz, which the Turks purchased by surrendering Hungary to Austria, Podolia to Poland, Dalmatia to Venice, and Azoff to Russia.

After Peter had worsted his Swedish and Polish enemies,

he turned his attention again to the Turks and attacked them in the year 1711. At the same time he offered his protection to the patriots, or brigands of Montenegro, who were in arms against the Sultan, and commenced that propaganda among the Greek and Slavonian *r'ayás* of the Turkish Empire, which has since borne such abundant fruit. His invasion of Turkey, however, turned out a complete, and was nearly a disastrous, failure.

All around the Turkish frontiers there then lay a zone of country which was little better than a waste, deserted by its inhabitants for fear of the man-stealing Tartars. This uninhabited and uncultivated zone formed a serious obstacle to a regular army, and Peter found himself in the plains of Moldavia starving for want of supplies, while his columns were surrounded by the myriads of the Turkish and Tartar horse. The Russian army was only extricated from its dangerous position by the firmness of the troops, who repulsed all the desultory attacks of the Sipáhis and Janissaries; by the skilful diplomacy of the Empress Catharine, the stupidity of the Grand Vazir, and the knavery of his lieutenants, who accepted the Empress' jewels as a bribe. As it was, Peter had to sign a treaty giving up Azoff again to the Turks.

Prince Kantemir of Moldavia, who accompanied the Russian army in this unfortunate campaign, says that the Russians proved themselves ignorant of the secret of success in Turkish warfare, not delivering a counter-attack immediately they had repulsed the tumultuary attack of their foes. They stood fast, and so allowed the Turks time to rally and renew the attack.

"Happy is that Christian General," says the literary Prince, "who hath withstood the first onset of the Turks:" for the rush of the Janissary was like that of the Highlandmen; and many a time the lines of German infantry were mown down by the swift and incessant strokes of the Turkish scimitars. The plan of the German Generals was to receive the Turkish rush with grape and musketry: if they could check it, they then made their troops advance, on which the Turks would raise a shout of "*Giaur geldi!*" ("the infidel is coming!") and would renew their attacks hurriedly and confusedly; and the Germans still repulsing them by their steady fire and front and still continuing to advance, the Turks would cry out "*Giaur hasti!*" ("the infidel hath come, or hath trodden on our heels!") and would so take to panic flight, thinking of nothing but saving their own lives, so that the Janissaries would shoot and kill the Sipáhis, in order to seize their horses to escape upon: for which reason, says Prince Kantemir, the Turkish horse always give their foot a wide berth, and will

not draw nigh to succour them in a battle, though they see them to be overthrown.

The cry of "Giaur geldi !" set up by the Turkish soldiery on the approach of the infidel host, reminds us of the cry of "Prussac idiet !" "(the Prussian comes !)" simultaneously sent up by the whole Russian Army, when they saw the columns of Frederick the Great's array arriving on the field of Zorndorff.

On that famous and fatal day the Prussian Army was drawn up to receive the Prussian attack in the same order which it used against the Turks : an immense hollow square, with the cavalry and the baggage inside, and the guns at the angles. This formation made Zorndorff the bloodiest battle of modern times. More than one-third of the Russian Army was put *hors de combat*. A single Prussian cannon-shot is said to have killed forty-two Russian soldiers !

This army square was the normal formation for battle adopted by the Russian Army in the fourth war, which was waged by the Empress Anne from 1736 to 1739, principally with the object of abating the nuisance of the raids continually made on the Southern Provinces of Russia by the Tartars of the Crimea, and other *protégées* of the Turks. The whole of the country from the banks of the Dniester to those of the Volga, from the frontiers of Poland to the shores of the Caspian, was then called by European geographers "Kleine Tartarei," or Little Tartary, in distinction from Great Tartary in Central Asia, all the tribes whom we call Kalmucks, Uzbeks, Turkomans, &c. now-a-day, being then lumped under the generic appellation of Tartars. Little Tartary was the happy hunting-ground of roving bands of Nogoi and Crim-Tartars, who had their general resting-place and refuge in the Crimea. They acted as Cossacks to the Turkish armies, and in their train often visited and plundered Poland and Hungary ; and from the frontiers of Russia they were never long absent. They much resembled, in their mode of life and character, the man-stealing Turkomans, who were such a scourge to Persia in our own day, and who have just been quelled by the Russian arms. These Tartars also excited much the same terror, and had the same reputation for courage and ferocity among the European nations, as the Turkomans among the Persians. Allusions to their cruelty and bravery are common in the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The poet Prior wrote :—

" Observe the different operations
Of food and drink in various nations :
What Tartar could be fierce or cruel
On the mere strength of water-gruel ?
But how withstand his rage and force,
When first he kills, then eats his horse ! "

The well-known phrase of "catching a Tartar" refers to an incident which occurred in the German wars against the Turks in Hungary. Prince Kantemir says that the Tartars were much braver and better soldiers than the Turks in his time. But he also mentions that the Russians have, with their "knutes and battsgues" (whips and rods) made the once turbulent Tartars of Kazan and Astrachan into the meekest-mannered of men. Nothing is more remarkable than the rapid loss of martial character by an Asiatic race when deprived of the opportunity for employing it. We have occasion to notice this in India in the rapid decline of military spirit among our own subject-populations. An unduly large proportion of our Sepoy recruits come from the territories of Native States.

The final resistance of the Crim-Tartars to the Russian arms was, indeed, so feeble, that we are led to suspect that their military capacity was always much over-rated. Anyhow, they are now the most peaceable and law-abiding of Russian subjects, with a quaker-like aversion to service in the Army.

In this war the Emperor of Germany was the ally of the Czarina, and the Turks, who still looked upon Russia as a second rate Power, of but little account, sent their Grand Vazir and their largest armies and best troops against the Austrians in Servia, adopting an entirely defensive attitude on the side of the Russians. The latter assumed the offensive on two different lines of operation; one army moving against the Tartars in the Crimea, the other against the Turks on the Dniester.

These armies had to reach their objective by traversing steppes destitute of inhabitants and producing nothing but grass. The Russian armies had to carry all their provisions and even sometimes their supply of water with them across these desert plains. They kept their communications open by erecting a chain of small redoubts at intervals of every ten or twelve miles. Each of these posts was garrisoned by ten or twelve musketeers and from twenty to thirty mounted Cossacks, the whole under command of a picked officer. Convoys and despatches were passed on from post to post; and it was found that both posts and convoys were well able to repulse the attacks of the wandering Tartars. When the garrisons of the posts were not engaged in escort duty, they occupied themselves in making hay of the long steppe grass, and storing it for forage. The Tartars frequently used to set fire to this long steppe grass to windward of the Russian camps, or line of march; so the first task of the troops, on encamping or bivouacing, was to clear away the grass for a space of several yards round the camp or bivouac.

Extraordinary precautions were taken in this war to foil the Turkish tactics. Each infantry battalion and cavalry regiment was furnished with portable *chevaux-de-frise*, made in lengths of two yards. These were carried on men's shoulders when the column was on the march, and were set down in front of the ranks when the troops were halted; and they formed a temporary entrenchment round the camp or bivouac—a "Zariba" as it would be termed now-a-days. Even the Russian cavalry used to defend themselves against the attack of the Turks by surrounding their halted columns with *chevaux-de-frise*.

Each infantry battalion was also provided with 350 pikes, eighteen feet in length, like those of the old Macedonian phalanx. These were carried by the middle or second rank (infantry being then formed in line in three ranks), instead of muskets and bayonets.

The army moved and fought in one large square, or sometimes in two or three smaller ones. The battalions were also in square, the sides of the army square being formed by lines or masses of battalion squares. The guns were at the angles, and also in the intervals between the battalion squares.

The baggage and cavalry occupied the centre of the square. Sometimes a triangle was formed instead of a square.

Halted in this formation, surrounded by *chevaux-de-frise* and with their guns firing from the intervals of the living hedge of steel, the Russian Army resembled a bristling fortress round which the swarms of Turkish horsemen careered in vain seeking for an opening. Napoleon Bonaparte afterwards employed similar formations against the Mamluks in Egypt with equal success, and, under the name of Ulundi squares, they have been revived lately in our own army to enable our troops to sustain the attack of swarms of brave and active barbarians.

The very first encounter of this war was a curious one. The Russian advanced guard of 400 Dragoons and 150 Cossacks was attacked and surrounded by swarms of Tartar horse. The Russians formed square, and the Dragoons dismounted half of their number, who opened a musketry fire; the Tartars, instead of charging, replied with showers of arrows. This extraordinary combat was only ended by the arrival of the Russian infantry and guns, on which the Tartars made themselves scarce, they having as great a respect for the fire of field-pieces as the Mahratta horse who, about the same time, gained their first experience of European methods of warfare in conflict with the French and English on the plains round Trichinopoly.

The Russian armies during this war were commanded by two foreigners—Field Marshals Münnich and Lacy,—the former a German, the latter an Irishman, and a refugee Jacobite. Another

exile from his native land was Keith, a Scotch Colonel in Münnich's army, who afterwards became famous in the service of Frederick the Great. The names of Gray, Douglas, McKenzie, &c., also occur among the General and Field Officers of the Russian army in this war. Many German names likewise testify to the assistance which Russia has derived from foreign aid in the training and leading of her troops.

All through her Oriental wars, the names of Weissmann, Rüdiger, Luders, Schilders, Dannenberg, Todleben, Kaufmann, &c., bear witness to the deep debt of gratitude which Russia owes to German military talent. When General Paskievitch was made a Field Marshal in 1828, in recognition of his victories over the Turks and Persians, he was the only Russian holding that rank in the Czar's army; his four brother Field Marshals being Diebitsch, Wittgenstein and Sacken—all Germans—and our own Duke of Wellington. The late Earl of Albemarle, who saw the Russian army at Adrianople in 1829, says that nine-tenths of their officers were Germans, or of German extraction. Perhaps he meant only their superior officers; but it is evident that, but for the military skill and science of the Western aliens, the Russian armies would have been as badly officered as their enemies the Turks, who had no European intelligence among them to leaven their native Mongolian stupidity.

In this war, the Russian armies entered and ravaged the peninsula of the Crimea from end to end every summer, retiring in the winter. The Tartars built a rampart across the Isthmus of Perekop to keep them out; but the Russians drew their attention and their numbers to one part of the wall by false attacks, and then scaled it at another and unguarded point. Another time Lacy avoided the rampart by crossing his army on to the spit of land between the Sea of Azoff and the Putrid Sea, and entered the Crimea by that road. On a third occasion he rivalled the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea by crossing his army over the bed of the Putrid Sea, when a strong north wind had driven back its waters, and so took the rampart in reverse. Münnich defeated the Turks in a pitched battle at Choczim on the Dniester, and took that fortress and also Oczakoff near the mouth of the Dnieper: the siege of the latter town was signalised by horrible carnage, and the victorious Russians buried 17,000 Turkish corpses after their successful assault.

Many curious anecdotes are told of the iron discipline which Field Marshal Münnich maintained in the Russian army, and of the merciless severity with which he enforced it. As his effective strength was greatly reduced by the number of men in hospital, he is said to have given orders that

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any soldier who was reported sick should be forthwith buried, to save the trouble of maintaining him in hospital. He turned the cannon of his siege batteries on his own troops at Oczakoff, in order to drive them back to the assault, when they hesitated again to face the Turkish scimitars. One of the Russian posts on the steppe having been surprised by the Tartars, Münnich had the officer who commanded it summarily executed, to inculcate vigilance on his comrades. During the march of the Russian army on Choczim, a Lieutenant-General was reported missing ; he had strayed to some distance from the line of march, and was captured and carried off by some roving Tartars. When the town was taken, he was found imprisoned in the fortress. Münnich reduced him to the rank and pay of a private Dragoon for his negligence in allowing himself to be made prisoner ; and he had to serve in the ranks during the remainder of the war, though he belonged to the Russian nobility, and, after the peace, entered St. Petersburg in his private trooper's uniform with fifty livery servants in his train.

The collapse of the Austrian operations in Servia and Bosnia, culminating in the capture of Belgrade and the invasion of Hungary by the Turks, robbed the Russians of the fruits of their victories in this war : but much experience was gained, the Tartars were thoroughly cowed, and the bugbear of Turkish military supremacy was laid for ever. The peace now signed lasted for twenty years : and then the fifth Russo-Turkish war was provoked by French intrigue. The cause was the first partition of Poland. The matter had really little to do with the Turks : the religious differences of Catholic Poles and orthodox Russians mattered nothing to men who treated all sects of Christians with the same contemptuous toleration : the growing power of Russia was, no doubt, a menace to the peace of the Ottoman Empire, but the danger was not to be neutralised by going forward to meet it.

But the agents of Choiseul, the French Minister, easily persuaded the stupid Turks that their empire was menaced by the Russian occupation of Poland, and the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople was imprisoned in the Castle of the Seven Towers, the Porte still pretending to regard all the Princes of Europe as its recalcitrant vassals.

The diplomatists of Europe still found their account in humouring the prejudices and the pride of the Turks, describing the arrangements by which they gained all the solid pudding and left him the empty praise, as "Capitulations," and otherwise playing to his ignorance and arrogance : and now Choiseul commenced the practice of using the Porte as a cats-paw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. France, desiring to be-

friend Poland, and unwilling herself to risk her own skin, thrust Turkey forward to turn the edge of the Russian steel. The Osmanli was only a too eager dupe. The Arab proverbial story relates how the Ass said unto God : " Lord, how is it that Thou has created me, seeing that Thou hast already created the Turks ? " And God replied unto the Ass, saying : " Verily, we have created the Turks, in order that the excellence of thy understanding might become apparent."

When the Empress Catherine sent a Russian fleet to the shores of Greece, the Porte gravely addressed a note to the Seignory of Venice, remonstrating with them for having allowed the fleet to pass from Russia into the Adriatic and so into the Mediterranean. The deliberations carried on in the Turkish Divan, or Council of Ministers, read like a page out of a Gilbert-and-Sullivan's comic opera ; the strategic combinations of the Seraskiers and Pashas, like a scene from " Bombastes Furioso."

These wars of the Empress Catherine the Second,—the fifth and sixth Russo-Turkish wars,—are especially interesting, as affording a striking illustration of the difference of European and Oriental modes of warfare. The cautious tactics of the Russian leaders in the last war were now entirely laid aside : their tacticians had at last mastered the secret of success in Oriental warfare, the key to which may be summed up in Suvoroff's favourite maxim " Stuppai-i-bei ! " (" Forward and strike ! ") The Russian Commanders no longer put their trust in pikes, or *chevaux-de-frise*, nor did they stop to count the numerical odds against them ; wherever they saw the Turkish turbans, they pressed eagerly forward to the attack. Their bold, offensive tactics were rewarded by a series of signal victories, like those of our Indian Army at Laswarri and Assaye. Under Rumiantzoff and Suvoroff the Russians repeatedly attacked Turkish armies three or four times as numerous as their own, and tumbled the unwieldy host into irretrievable ruin ; the Turks taking to panic flight, leaving guns, standards, stores, treasure, camp and baggage to the victors : and Frederick the Great observed sarcastically that " the one-eyed man was beating the blind man." By these victories all the lands North of the Danube in Europe, and North of the Caucasian chain in Asia, were soon swept clear of Turks ; the garrisons emptying themselves and joining in the flight of the armies : not a Turk was left in Moldavia, in Wallachia, or Abkhasia. But when the victorious Russians crossed the Danube, the war assumed a new aspect, and their arms received an unlooked-for and unexpected check. A tedious and interminable war of sieges succeeded to their brilliant and decisive triumphs in the field. They had now come into a country, not only garrisoned, but peopled

by their Musalman foes ; and the whole population of a Turkish town rushed to its crumbling walls to man them against the assaults of the Giaur. The Turk, who was as helpless as an infant in the field against the Russian tactics and the Russian artillery, proved a dangerous opponent behind stone walls, or even behind an earthen parapet. The numbers which had only served to swell the triumphs of the Russians on the plains by the Pruth and the Kaghul, now presented an inexhaustible array of fresh defenders. The names of Shumla, Silistria, Ruschuk, Varna, and many another Bulgarian town commemorate more than one long story of desperate attack and stubborn defence to military history. The Russians besieged Shumla in four successive wars, but they never succeeded in taking it : and it was only the treaty of Berlin in 1878 that at last lowered the banner of the Crescent from " Gházi Shumla's " unconquered walls.

This obstinate war of sieges was more bloody in its results than many pitched battles in the field. Sir Edward Cust, in his work entitled " Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century," says, that " the wars waged by the Empress Catherine against the Turks, for carnage and cruelty, exceed any others known in modern history." This carnage and cruelty was due partly to the mode of fighting, partly to the religious character of the war, and partly to the barbarous Oriental code of warfare still in force among the Turks. The hand-to-hand combats in the trenches and in the breach, the street-fighting after the ramparts had been won, in which the Osmanli sabre was matched against the Russian bayonet, were attended with fearful loss of life to both victors and vanquished, the Turks especially, in the words of Prince Kantemir, " fighting more like wild beasts than men." Suvoroff, like Sir Charles Napier, trained his men to consider the bayonet a superior weapon to the sword, and to rely on it in preference to the bullet. " The ball is a fool, the bayonet is a hero," was a favourite maxim of Suvoroff's. " Stab the Turk with the bayonet," he said, " and then stab him again ; even when he is nearly dead : he may still tumble you over with his sabre." He practised his men sedulously at a bayonet exercise, probably the first introduced into European armies, teaching them to direct their thrusts at fascines dressed up in robes and turbans to look like Turks. At the storming of Ismail, the corpse of the Turkish Saraskier was found pierced by sixteen bayonet thrusts. The Russian horsemen adopted the lance as their favourite weapon to protect themselves against the Turkish scimitars, following the advice of the Imperialist General Montecuculli, who, in his treatise on " The Art of Fighting the Turks," had named the lance " La Reine des Armes Blanches," from

its efficacy against the sabre-wielding Turkish cavalry, who could not parry its thrust with their crooked blades : and it was, no doubt, their sharp experience of the Oriental scimitar that led the Poles and Cossacks to adopt the lance as their national weapon. In the Russo-Turkish war of 1827-29, the whole of the Russian cavalry adopted the lance, with the exception of one regiment of Hussars.

These wars were to the Turks, of course, Holy Wars, as being waged against Christian infidels ; and they were inspired also by the hope of re-capturing Kaminiek and other strong places that had once hoisted the banner of the Crescent : for they believed that God would not suffer a town in which mosques had been once raised, and where the *Azan* had been proclaimed, to remain long in the hands of the infidels ; a belief which was soon dissipated by the stubborn logic of facts. The cause of the sixth Russo-Turkish War (the second waged by the Empress Catherine) was this inability of the Turks to rest quiet under the loss of territory to the Dár-ul-Islám. The 'Ulama preached the Jehád against the Giaur Maskúb (infidel Russian), and the expedition to Kinburn was accompanied by Dervishes, who led the attacking columns of the Janissaries brandishing aloft copies of the *Koran*. These militant Dervishes were called "Hú-kasháns" from their cry of "Allah hú !" ("God is !") with which they used to excite the soldiery to fanatical frenzy. So Aurangzíb, in the battle with Dará, cheered the failing spirits of his followers with the shout of "Khudá hai !" The Russians, on their side, did not yield one jot in bigotry and fanaticism to the Turks.

At the battle of Choczim, a Russian priest, brandishing a huge brass crucifix at the head of his regiment, led it forward to a desperate assault upon the enemy's entrenchments. It was currently reported that a red cross had been seen floating in the sky over the dome of St. Sophia, presaging the restoration of the Christian worship in the capital of the Kaisars. The Earl of Albemarle says that, in the war of 1828, the Russian soldiers had a favourite song with a chorus of "Paidom Tchelegrad" ("Let us go to the Cathedral"), meaning St. Sophia : and Russian officers, on their dying beds, used to beg that they might be buried by the side of the road that led to Constantinople.

The barbarous code of warfare still in force among the Turks was answerable for much of the cruelty in these wars. Their chiefs offered a reward for the head of every enemy ; and prisoners of war were invariably enslaved, and sold for the profit of the captor. The 'Ulama refused to sanction an exchange of prisoners, on the ground that it would be acknowledging the equality of Christians with Musalmans : but they allowed

that it might be expedient to release a few Christians, if the liberty of many Musalmans might be obtained thereby. The Oriental technical expression for casualties in action is "Sar o Zinda:" ("Heads and Living:") the latter being the prisoners, while the Heads represent the slain enemies, and too often the wounded. This custom of head-hunting caused the massacre of all the Russian wounded who were so unlucky as to fall into Turkish hands: and this led to fearful reprisals. Quarter was rarely given by the Russians to a vanquished foe. The Cossacks, when auxiliaries of the Porte, used to practise this trick of decapitation, and the Russians had much trouble in breaking them of the habit. When it was proposed by the Russian commanders to try and dissuade the Turks from this barbarous practice, the Prince de Ligne objected, saying that it was altogether to the advantage of the Russians that it should continue: for it did no harm to the dead, was often a mercy to the wounded, and was always useful in reducing the soldier to the necessity of defending himself to the last.

But, as often happens, the cruelties and savageries of the Turks were forgotten in the horror of the Russian reprisals. The capture of a fortified town by assault always involved the wholesale massacre of its Musalman inhabitants. Forty-thousand Turks perished in the storming of Oczakoff by Potemkin: and an equal number were sacrificed at Ismail. "No quarter to-day, my children," said Suvoroff to his soldiers; "bread is scarce." On that fearful day the whole Turkish army, as well as the Musalman population of the doomed town, perished, man, woman, and child. Lord Byron, in his graphic description of this wholesale carnage in his poem "Don Juan," wrote:—

"Of forty thousand who had manned the wall
Some hundreds breathed; the rest were silent all!"

The news of this butchery sent a thrill of horror through civilised Europe, and the poet Coleridge thus apostrophised the victims of the insatiable ambition of Russia:—

"Ye who erst at Ismail's tower,
When human ruin choked the streams,
Fell in conquest's gluttoned hour,
'Mid women's shrieks, and infants' screams,
Whose shrieks, whose screams, were vain to stir
Loud-laughing, red eyed Massacre!"

But these horrors were far surpassed by the mutual atrocities of Turks and Greeks in the Morea, where an insurrection of the Christians had been fomented by Russian promises of aid in men and money, very imperfectly fulfilled. A Russian fleet appeared in the Levant, destroyed the Turkish navy in the bay of Cheshma, in an engagement in which the English

captains in the Russian service had the lion's share of the fighting and of the glory. The Russians issued letters of marque to Greek pirates, and the coasts and commerce of the Levant were the promiscuous prey of ruffians of all nationalities cruising under the Russian flag, of whom the famous Franco-American privateer, Paul Jones, was one, and Lambro Katzones, the celebrated Greek corsair, was another. The Russian fleet visited Alexandria, and tried to acquire that city as a permanent place of arms in the Mediterranean by treaty with the Mamluk Beys of Egypt, who were, as usual, in revolt against the Porte. This project seriously alarmed the English and French Cabinets, and England now commenced that course of opposition to Russian policy in the East which culminated in the Crimean War nearly a century later. The successes of Catherine's arms in the Eastern regions excited the jealousy and apprehension of English statesmen to a great degree, and induced that solicitude for the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire which has so heavily handicapped England's policy in the Eastern question. But their anxiety was now allayed by fresh troubles in Poland, and by the outbreak of the French Revolution, which diverted the Empress Catherine's attention from her schemes of Eastern conquest, and gave employment to her forces elsewhere.

Her grandson, Alexander the First, soon renewed the attack and commenced the seventh Russo-Turkish war, which lasted for ten years; being continually interrupted by the operations against Napoleon in Central Europe calling off the Russian forces from the Danube. By the close of the war, the Russians had formally annexed the Roumanian provinces, and had mastered most of the fortresses on the Danube; but they yearly besieged Shumla in vain, and they were repulsed from the breach at Ruschuk, with the loss of eight thousand men. The Russians in Bulgaria sent aid to the Servian Christians, who, under the leadership of Kará George, had risen against their Turkish masters. A Russian battalion proved a tower of strength to the insurgent bands, who could fight only in the same skirmishing fashion as the Turks: when worsted, they would rally behind the battalion, and sally from its shelter to make a fresh attack on the enemy. By the aid of the Russian auxiliaries, Black George, whose only idea of government was that of a Turkish Pasha, made himself absolute master and tyrant of Servia.

This war was finally put an end to by Russia's necessity, when threatened with invasion by Napoleon in 1812. England was, at this juncture, Russia's friend and ally, and her diplomacy was successful in persuading the Porte to make peace, and so setting free the Russian army of the Danube in time to arrive on the flank of Napoleon's retreat at the Beresina. The

Czar consented to annul his annexation of the Roumanian principalities, and abandoned Kará George and the Servians to Turkish vengeance. England had thus the double satisfaction of thwarting Russia's advance in the East, while assisting her against Napoleon on the Continent of Europe.

Fifteen years later, the Greek insurrection afforded the Czar Nicholas a plausible pretext for the eighth Russo-Turkish war. In this war a Russian Army crossed the Balkans for the first time. They had run their heads, as usual, against Shumla in vain; so they left it masked, and crossed the mountains to Adrianople, completely surprising the Turks, who, like all Orientals, acted as if the unexpected never would happen. With Diebitsch at Adrianople and Paskievitch at Erzeroum, the Porte had no alternative but to yield, and restore long-forgotten Greece to Christendom. The two campaigns of Field Marshal Paskievitch in Asia in this war are master-pieces in Oriental warfare. However much the Russians may be indebted for their success in their Eastern wars to German military talent, it is consoling to their national pride to reflect, that the two most famous names in these wars are Slavonic names, those of Suvoroff and Paskievitch. The signal victories in the field and the desperate and successful assaults on fortresses achieved by the latter, rival the most famous triumphs of the former.

The Russians, as usual, suffered fearful and almost incredible loss in this war—more by disease and privation than by the sword of the enemy. The plague generally accompanied the progress of a Turkish army and infected its foes. The late lamented Earl of Albemarle, who, as Major Keppel, has left a record of his experience with the Russian Army in this war, says that the loss of the Russians from sickness alone in one campaign was 70,000 men; of these more than 12,000, died of the plague in one garrison, Varna. A German Major, attached to the staff of Field Marshal Count Diebitsch Zabalkansky, declared that no one but a Russian could undergo the fatigues and privations that accompany a protracted campaign in Turkey. And he might have added, that no one but a Russian would have shown the utter and brutal insensibility displayed by the Generals and other superior officers to the wants, the comforts, and even the lives of their men. The Earl of Albemarle writes:—

‘The common answer of the Russian officers to our expressions of regret at the great loss they had sustained was: ‘That is of no consequence: Russia does not want for soldiers.’”

All these wars were accompanied by considerable accessions of territory to Russia, at the expense of Turkey, principally in Asia: but the ninth, or Crimean War, had a different

result. England, France, and ultimately Sardinia also, came to the assistance of Turkey, and the Muscovite march was for once checked. But the honour and glory of the war remained with Russia. Single-handed, she resisted England and France, allied with Turkey and Sardinia, for two years, and then concluded an honourable peace. The French and British armies, after a year's strenuous siege laid to Sebastopol, gained possession only of a heap of ruins, and were never able to take possession of the forts on the northern side of the harbour. The closing scene of the war was the Russian capture of the fortress of Kars.

And finally, in 1870, the Russians tore up the treaty extorted from them in 1856, and the blood of our soldiers shed at Alma, Balaklava and Inkermann was spilled in vain.

In 1877 the tenth and last Russo-Turkish war was fought for the liberation of Bulgaria, and was soon decided by the overwhelming numbers of the Russian Armies. In spite of their long check at Plevna, they were at the gates of Constantinople within nine months from the declaration of war. A hundred years before, the Turkish armies had always outnumbered the Russian by three or two to one; now the disproportion is entirely the other way, and every year it is steadily growing: so that, in a future struggle, we may expect to see Turkey crushed by the mere weight of numbers alone. Russia's march towards the Mediterranean has now, however, been checked by the rise of the intervening Christian States of Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria, which, while they are bound to her interests by ties of sentiment and of gratitude, offer an effectual bar to the southward extension of her territory. But in Asia no such barrier exists to her further progress, to be made at the expense of weak and semi-civilized Musalman communities. Peter the Great foresaw the vast field which Central Asia afforded for Russian enterprise and territorial expansion, and he was eager to occupy it. The state of anarchy into which Persia had fallen, after the Afghan invasion and the extinction of the Suffair dynasty, afforded him a golden opportunity. Under the pretence of assisting the young Shak Tamasp against his enemies, he flooded the Persian provinces of the Caspian littoral with Russian troops. The Czar came in person with an army to Derbend and Baku, made treaties with the Lesgi mountaineers, who were bitter enemies to the Shiya Persians, easily overcame the feeble resistance offered by the latter, and established a Russian administration in Ghilan and Mazanderan.

He also despatched an expedition to Khiva, under a Caucasian chief who had entered his service, and was called by the Russians Bekovitch (son of the Bek, or Beg), the

prototype of the Alikhanoffs and Nazarbeggoffs of our own time. The Khan of Khiva, unable to withstand the arms of the Russian invaders, made a feigned submission, and so imposed on Bekovitch that he was completely lulled into a false security and dispersed his troops among the Uzbeks for convenience of quarters and supply. At a preconcerted signal, the scattered Russians were everywhere surprised and massacred, and the too trustful Bekovitch shared the fate of his men.

After Peter the Great's death, the Russians also lost all his acquisitions in Persia as speedily and as peacefully as they had gained them. Nadir Shah had beaten and expelled the Afghan and Turkish invaders of his country, and had made himself absolute master of Iran: and he now gave notice to quit to the Russian occupants of the Caspian provinces. A Russian Embassy, headed by a diplomatist, called Kamas (Kaunitz?) by the Persian historians, was deputed by the Empress Anne to the Court of Nadir Shah, to arrange matters with that monarch; but Nadir insisted on the immediate and complete evacuation of Persian soil as a preliminary to all negotiation: and the Russian Government reluctantly acquiesced, fearing the result of a conflict with the greatest captain of Asia, then at the zenith of his fame and at the head of a formidable army flushed with conquest. For some time afterwards, indeed, the Russians at Astrachan were seriously apprehensive of a Persian invasion. Nadir's death soon relieved them of their apprehensions, and threw Persia back into the slough of anarchy from which he had rescued her.

The Georgian contingent in Nadir Shah's ever-victorious army was commanded by a Christian prince, named Heraclius, and, on the death of his master, he led his division back to his native country, where he re-established the Christian Kingdom, just as his brother captain in Nadir's service, Ahmad the Abdali, similarly made himself King at Kandahar with the help of Nadir's troops and treasure. King Heraclius hastened to put himself under the protection of Russia, in view of the natural hostility of the neighbouring Turks and Persians; and the patronage of Georgia by Russia was the cause of the first Russo-Persian war.

When Agha Muhammad, the founder of the present Kajar dynasty, had again consolidated the Persian monarchy, he called on Heraclius to surrender Georgia: but the old King, trusting to the promised aid of Russia, defied him. The "Merciless Eunuch" at once marched his hosts upon Tiflis; and, before the Russians had begun to assemble an army to assist him, Heraclius had been defeated and put to flight, his

army scattered, Tiflis sacked and burnt, and thousands of Christian women and boys carried away captive.

The Russians came too late to save, but they remained to avenge. Agha Muhammad was returning to Georgia to expel them, when he was murdered in his camp; and shortly afterwards the death of the Empress Catherine and the accession of her mad son, Paul, put a stop to the operations on the Russian side for a time. A petty warfare was long carried on between the local governors on both sides, till the progress made by the Russians at last roused the Shah to action, and the Persians made a determined effort to turn the tide of war. This led to a remarkable change in Oriental methods of warfare. It had taken the stupid Turks one hundred years of sound beating from the Russians before they discovered any fault in their own military system: but the quick-witted Persians at once realised their own deficiencies, and set to work to form a new army on a European model, with the aid, first of French, and then of English officers. Napoleon despatched a Military Mission to Persia to train the newly-raised "Sarbaz" to meet the Russians in the field. But the treaty of Tilsit was signed, and now Napoleon was the fast friend of Russia, and consequently the foe of Turkey and Persia. The French officers were expelled from Teheran, and a troop of English instructors took their place: and English officers died by Russian steel on the field of Arslanduz. But again Napoleon and Alexander quarrelled, and Russia and England were friends once more. The English officers were consequently withdrawn from the Persian Army.

The Persians were fairly beaten out of the field, and Fath Ali Shah purchased a peace by the cession of Georgia and the adjacent coasts of the Caspian.

The war had lasted for twenty years. The second war was finished in two years. It arose twelve years after the conclusion of the first war, brought on by frontier disputes and by the resentment of the Persians at seeing Christians put on an equal, or superior, footing to the Musalmans in the districts surrendered to Russia. Paskievitch made short work of the Persians, and reached Tabriz in two brilliant campaigns.

In the former war, the Persian cavalry was both numerous and active: it proved more than a match for the Cossacks, and kept the Russians continually on the alert. In the second war, it proved worthless: indeed, the old national force of irregular cavalry had practically disappeared, sacrificed to maintain a so-called regular army, which, without intelligent leaders, systematic training, and *esprit de corps*, entirely disappointed the expectations formed of it. The result of the establishment of a European army system in an Oriental

State like Turkey, or Persia, may be compared to that of putting new wine into old bottles. Persia yielded up part of Armenia, with Grivan, its capital, this time, and has ever since been practically at the mercy of Russia. She did not venture to make an effort to recover her lost provinces, even when the hands of Russia were tied by the Crimean War.

The Lesgis of Daghistan on the Caspian shore had at first hailed the Russians as allies against the heretic Persians; and during the last century the Muscovite rule appears to have been popular with the various tribes of the Caucasus: but during the wars of the Empress Catherine with the Turks, a strong Musalman *propaganda* was preached among the tribes, and the flames of a Holy War were kindled, which were not quenched by the Russians till after fifty years of incessant strife and ceaseless toil and bloodshed. A succession of fanatical Imams and Mullas excited the brave and warlike tribesmen to the most desperate resistance to Christian supremacy: and the banded Murids and gallant Ghazis, who hailed in their ravings the inspired word of *Allah*, converted every cliff of their craggy mountains into an impregnable citadel. The complete conquest of the Caucasus by Russia in more than fifty years of incessant warfare is one of the most Herculean labours ever achieved by the genius of modern civilisation.

After the failure of Bekovitch's expedition against Khiva in the time of Peter the Great, the Russians made no further attempt on Turkistan until 1839, when a second time an army was despatched against Khiva under General Peroffsky, with the hope of putting an end to the system of raids on Russian territories and caravans carried on by Uzbeks and Kirghiz, and encouraged by the Khan of Khiva. But the frightful deserts which stretched around the oasis effectually protected Khiva from its enemies, and Peroffsky had to turn back *re infectâ*, beaten by the forces of nature. The Russians, however, pushed their approaches from the side of Orenburg, and in 1845 the Great Horde (Urdu) of the Kirghiz consented to put itself under Russian protection. In 1853 an expedition from Orenburg attacked the Khokandian frontier fort of A'k Masjid (the white Mosque). It was successfully defended by Ya'kub Beg, who afterwards became famous as Amir of Yarkand and Kashgar; but, in the following year, the Russians returned in greater force and took the fort. The Crimean War put a stop to further operations for a time: but in 1862 the Russians were again upon the war-path, and in the next two years they had reduced and occupied all the fortified posts along the northern frontier of Khokand. In 1864, they took the important town of Chemkend; and, the next year

they defeated and killed Alim Kul, the regent of Khokand, under the walls of Tahskend. Soon after they stormed the city, and the Khan only retained his dignity and the semblance of power, by submitting to all the demands of the conquerors. The Amir of Bokhara rushed to the rescue of his co-religionists in Khokand ; but he only shared their fate. The "Harakat-i-Mazbúhi" (Victim's death-struggle), which Bokhara waged against the might of Russia for two years, terminated, in 1868, by the acknowledgment of Muscovite suzerainty and the cession of Samarkand. In 1870, Shahr-i-Sabz was annexed : in 1873, Khiva was attacked, occupied, and reduced to the same state of vassalage as Bokhara. The tameless Turkomans of the Caspian deserts were next taken in hand ; and the series of operations against them was concluded in 1894 by the occupation of the Merv oasis. In spite of all the resistance that could be offered by the arms of Islam and the diplomacy of England, the Russian frontier was pushed forward till it met that of Afghanistan.

The record of this twenty-years' warfare in Turkistan hardly contains the record of a single action worthy of the name of a fight ; unless it be the gallant stand often made by small bodies of Russian troops against an Asiatic host contemptible in everything except in numbers. When we consider that Central Asia sent forth the soldiers who formed the armies of Amir Taimúr, who routed the Osmanli Turks at Angora, and wrested the strong city of Smyrna from the Knights of St. John, the flower of European chivalry, the cowardice of the modern Uzbek seems inexplicable. That twenty thousand armed men, fighting for their faith and their country, should take to flight before the attack of a foe not one-tenth of their number, without a stroke struck, seems incredible.

It is certainly unaccountable. Even the Afghan, whose physical courage Englishmen cannot doubt, fled in the same precipitate manner before Komaroff's Russians from the field at Pul-i-kishti, scared, apparently, by the mere terror of the Russian name.

Russia has not yet reached the furthest limit of her triumphal progress in Asia, nor closed the roll of her victories in Oriental warfare.

An old Russian military maxim of the Turkish wars says that, "wherever you see one turban, you may be sure there are a thousand more ;" and wherever in Central Asia the round lambskin cap of the Russian rifleman appears, we may be tolerably certain that a thousand like it will follow. Russia's onward march will only stop when it is stayed by the English picquet-line. But before that time comes, many

years may yet elapse: and there are wide regions, still unsubdued and unoccupied, in Western and Central Asia, through which the march of the Russian may be long continued, going forth conquering and to conquer.

F. H. TYRRELL,
Major-General.

ART. III.—LOOSE STANZAS.

THE object of these pages is to afford some notion of the true characteristics which distinguish the Eastern poet who has had such a paradoxical influence in recent days. The title is not intended to indicate moral laxity ; if such there be, it will not come unpleasantly before us here ; but some epithet had to be selected which would convey the true literary idea. Omar Khayyám has had a most singular fortune, and is perhaps but little understood even among those to whom his name has become a household word.

The general outlines of his life are familiar enough : how he lived in Khurasan during the time of the First Crusade, and devoted himself to the study of mathematics ; was provided for by a Minister who had been his school-fellow ; and died at an advanced age, when he was buried at Naishapur, the place of his birth. Omar's patron—from whose *Memoirs* we gather most of these particulars—died in 1092 A. D., assassinated by instigation of an ungrateful contemporary and former friend ; but Omar is believed to have survived him for many years. The two points which the Minister recorded in regard to the poet were : 1st, his entire want of ambition ; and 2nd, his accomplishments in exact science. The former was shown by his refusing the Minister's offer of public employment, that universal loadstone of Oriental desire ; the second was displayed in the preparation of astronomical tables, and in active collaboration for a reformation of the usually accepted Calendar, which is said to be almost, if not quite, equal to the Gregorian.*

This retiring student was a Hedonist, in the truest sense of the word. He preferred the repose of his own humble home, whether as Astronomer Royal at Marv, or Merve, or else—and it is so that we more usually imagine him—in a little villa on the outskirts of his native town : these two being the extreme limits of his uneventful life.† Here, while the Franks were founding their short-lived Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Seljuks preparing the fall of the Califate at Bagdad, we are a little rested from the din and havoc of a stormy world by thinking of the quiet scholar. But it is not in that character alone that Omar lives in modern memory. The intelligent curiosity of Joseph v. Hammer first revealed him to the European world as a poet, by an incidental glance in the

* But see the notice in Gibbon, C. lxii.

† Except, indeed, a legendary pilgrimage to Mecca, during which the poet is said to have visited Bagdad ; in any case, it seems as if he did not know very much of the outer world.

History of the Assassins, published in 1818. He mentions the "epicureanism" of Omar Khayyám, and the "immortality" of his quatrains, "the only samples of humorous writing preserved in Persian literature;" and he speaks of Omar's philosophical character as shared with Ibn Yamin—commonly called Amir Mahmud—whom he designates "the Eastern Voltaire." Omar's fame as a poet then suffered another short eclipse, while his mathematical works were edited with a translation by M. Woepke (Paris, 1851). It was reserved for the *Calcutta Review* to bring the scattered limbs of the poet into Western notice by means of an article by Professor E. Cowell (January 1858), and about a twelvemonth later, Edward Fitzgerald gave the English-reading world a little poem, founded on seventy-five of Omar's stanzas, which—after descending to the "penny-box" of Mr. B. Quaritch—has taken rank with the most admired monologues of the age; has obtained the honours of art in the illustrations of an ambitious American; and has given rise to the foundation of a special cult, having its priests and worshippers in a London "Omar Khayyám Club."

It is difficult to understand all this. If we could imagine Sir Isaac Newton retiring to the outskirts of Cambridge, and scribbling epigrams in the company of potboys and prostitutes (which does not seem an easy feat of imagination), we should still feel a difficulty in supposing the epigrams preserved in M. S. for seven or eight centuries and then becoming the subject of study and admiration at the other end of the world. Nor does the wonder end here. Bodenstedt has edited the *Kubaiya* in Germany; and a handsome text, with French prose version, was published in Paris, under the auspices of the late Napoleon III, the editor being M. Nicolas, formerly of the French Embassy at Teheran. The date of this work was in the year preceding Fitzgerald's. The last named version—which (beautiful as it is) may be truly termed a "perversion"—was subsequently completed, and a revised reading will be found in Vol. III, of Fitzgerald's collected *Letters and Remains*.† This eccentric, but deeply interesting man—whose original family name was Purcell—became acquainted with Persian literature about 1853, and his first translation from it was a loose version of a poem by Jámi, published three years later. Prepared by this and other preliminary exercises, Fitzgerald—now known by the name of his mother—attacked the quatrains of Omar. But something in the tone of a certain part of these fascinated him; he read into the disjointed ejaculations of the astronomer a continuous purpose and consistency of which they had

† By Aldis Wright. 3 vols, 1889.

no trace ; and he has turned the scattered relics into a grand and gorgeous trophy.

Lastly a much more competent student, though with less sensibility and individuality of style, devoted himself to the task of interpreting the real Khayyám. In 1883, Mr. E. H. Whinfield, M. A., contributed to "Trübner's Oriental Series" two works, the one a translation only, the other a translation with text on opposite pages. The double edition was further enriched by a scholarly introduction of thirty-two pages, and critical foot-notes. Mr. Whinfield's work is not—it may be said without offence—equal to Fitzgerald's in point of technique, nor in that indescribable magnetism which marks a "classic." But it is Khayyám, which the other is not. Sometimes his turns of phrase are very happy, sometimes very accurate as renderings ; though it may be that a point laboured by the author is sacrificed by the translator, here and there, out of a desire for euphony, or a too fastidious taste. Mr. Whinfield also sometimes betrays a love of epithet and adjective which hardly does justice to the straightforward simplicity by which Omar is usually distinguished. But, with whatever little drawbacks, the task has been performed with intelligent integrity ; and the intrinsic incoherence of a sheaf of epigrams, written in various moods and circumstances, is admirably preserved.

Adopting Mr. Whinfield's classification and availing ourselves generally of his guidance, let us now proceed to examine samples of each of the more important forms in which these quatrains are cast. We shall not, indeed, adopt Mr. Whinfield's exact expressions, but ask leave to vary them by some in which we think that the thought of the poet is rendered even more closely. But we shall remain under obligations of all sorts to our scholarly and patient guide. In a few stanzas there will be found phrases borrowed from a pamphlet printed privately many years ago by the great Celtic scholar, Mr. Whitley Stokes.

Mr. Whinfield's first class consists of, what he calls, "Complaints of Fortune." All protracted lives—such as Omar's was—are full of care, ever darkening towards the end ; nor were the conditions of a peaceful philosopher especially favourable under the Seljukian dynasty in Central Asia. Alp Arslan and his successor, Malik Shah, were enlightened men ; and the long administration of Omar's patron, Nizam-ul-Mulk, was remarkably efficient and prosperous. Nevertheless, the ordinary current of existence must have been often ruffled for a peace-loving free-thinker surrounded by blood-thirsty fanatics, whose ideals were so opposed to his. And when the Great Minister died—assassinated by the clients of one who had been the friend and comrade of both Omar and his patron—

the dynasty swiftly declined, and the conditions of the poet must have declined also. His pension, doubtless, ceased ; and a total loss of income must needs shake a temper, however unaspiring. In such considerations we shall surely find enough to account for all the querulousness and tragic tone of such laments as these :—

My span is but a few days, scarcely one,
Wind on the desert blowing, quickly gone ;
Long as life lasts I care not but for two—
The day that is not, and the day that is done.

This vase once loved, like me, a lovely girl,
And bent in rapture o'er a scented curl.
This handle, that you see upon its neck,
Once wound itself about a neck of pearl.

Be watchful ! Fortune menaces deceit ;
Sharp is the sword above thee : keep thy feet ;
And if she offer thee a sugared nut,
Forbear to taste : there is poison in the sweet.

A hundred thousand Saints the past has seen,
Sinai a hundred thousand Prophets seen,
The Palatine full many an Emperor,
Kasra a hundred thousand Shahs has seen.*

That vault of azure, and that golden bowl,
Have rolled for ages, will for ages roll ;
Even so—the destined sons of destiny—
We come and go, poor fragments of the whole.

When we are gone the world will still remain,
Yet neither name nor sign of us retain ;
In days past we were not, and no one cared,
Nor will in future, when we are not, again.

Ah woe ! our hands must drop their garnered store,
And Azrael's talons bathe our hearts in gore ;
While from that bourne no traveller returns,
To tell us how they fare who went before.

Those sons of care whom mortals calls "The Great,"
Have lives of trouble, all at odds with Fate ;
Yet him who is not Passion's slave, like them,
They hardly reckon as of man's estate.

The old familiar faces ! All are fled,
Under the feet of Azrael trampled dead ;
At life's sad feast they shared the wine awhile,
But drank too quickly, and were quickly sped.†

The wheeling zenith hides an unborn thought,
A cup with universal meaning fraught ;
Lament not when the cup comes round to you,
But drain with gladness what your turn has brought.

* Assonance in unison ; a common practice of our poet : *Kasra* is a legendary Persian palace.

† We are reminded of a similar expression in French poetry :—

“ Au banquet de la vie, infortuné convive,
J'apparus un jour, et je meurs.”

[Gilbert, 1780.

This wheel that will to none its course explain
Mahmud, Ayaz,‡ a thousand such has slain ;
Drink wine ! For life is given to no one twice,
And none that once has lived comes back again.

In circles of existence too long pent,
And fallen from man's estate by sad descent,
Since life can never bring us what we want,
Would God satiety could feel content !

Pure from the void we came, impure we go ;
Welcomed with joy we came, in grief we go ;
Tempered with tears in furnace of the heart,
Life given to the winds, to dust we go.

Help all you may their heavy loads to bear,
Lay waste the shrines of sacrifice and prayer.
This soothsay of Khayyám receive, O friend,
Drink wine, take purses, but be kind to care.

This pile, whose gables wooed the smile of day,
And on whose floor kings wont their brows to lay,
We saw a dove upon its battlements,
And all she said was—" Where, Ah ! Where are they ? "

The weariful monotone of Pessimism rises to a climax in the last of our samples, where the cry of Sophocles is unconsciously repeated :—

Since all man gathers in this waste below
Feeds him on ashes and then bids him go,
Happiest is he who soonest takes his leave,
Or he who never saw this world of woe.§

So far our poet might pass for a confirmed hater of life and all its gifts. But let us turn to another of his aspects, and see how he handles the unsympathetic men who are the main causers of his sadness, and their depressing tenets :—

II.

Temple and Kāba both are fanes of prayer,
Bells and Mūazzins call alike to prayer ;
Churches and mosques, crosses and rosaries,
What are they all but instruments of prayer ?

In fane or cloister, mosque or school, one lies,
Adread of Hell, one dreams of Paradise ;
But none that know the secrets of the Lord,
Will sow their hearts with such absurdities.

If in your heart the lamp of Love you plant,
Whether the mosque or synagogue you haunt,
If in Love's Court your name be registered,
Hell you will fear not, Heaven you will not want.

‡ Mahmud of Ghazni and his favourite slave.

§ Not to have been surpasses all device ;
But, having been, to go as quickly back,
There whence we came, as may be possible
Is far the second best

[*Oedipus at Colonus.*]

Pity ! the raw should win the well-cooked cake,
And prentice-bunglers mar the plans we make ;
Sweet eyes that bid the hearts of men to beat
Shine but for schoolboys, or for eunuch's sake.

If roses fail, my fate is thorns you see ;
And, if light fails, why darkness does for me ;
And if I find no place for Muslim prayer,
I must make shift with Christian heresy.

Ah ! heedless race : the world's affairs are nought,
Foundation of the wind ; whereof comes nought ;
The bounds of being are two negatives,
One on each side and, midway, you, too, nought.

Seek not to do the people harm by night,
Lest they appeal to God from thee by night ;
Lean not on strength or beauty of thine own,
For this and that will leave thee soon by night.

The red wine in a festal cup is sweet,
With sound of lute and dulcimer is sweet ;
A holy man who does not think it so,
He, too, a thousand miles from us is sweet.

But our poet is too genial to be satisfied with satire ; he could love ; and his love-notes have a tender pathos not common in Eastern literature. M. Nicolas, indeed, was led to believe that both Omar and Hafiz—whose treatment of the subject is most like Omar's—were Sufis with whom women and wine were but symbols put to indicate desire for God and spiritual absorption. On this point, however, attention is surely due to the opinion of contemporaries. Now, it so happens, that Shahrastáni, author of the *Philosophical Biography*, lived between A.D. 1086 and 1153, and must have known in what light Omar was regarded. He mentions him as a great scholar, versed especially in Greek, but *in no respect a Sufi* : his strong point was astronomy, his weak one want of self-control. With his testimony we may combine a few specimens of Omar's epicurean poetry, and leave judicious readers to draw their own conclusions :—

III.

On Love's sweet path pursue the offering heart,
In Love's own precinct seek a perfect heart,
A hundred temples are but beaten clay,
Let be the temple, so thou find a heart.

Arise ! Where is the song you used to sing ?
Your little mouth my spirit's food can bring ;
But pour me wine as rosy as your face,
My heart is like your ringlet's broken wing.

These compasses resemble you and me
Whose heads are two, though one the body be,

About the centre, like a circle, twined ;
But in one point they meet at last you see.*

A jug of wine, a book of poetry,
For stay of life a crust of bread give me,
And thou beside me, in the wilderness !
The Sultan's Kingdom better cannot be.†

I cannot see the form mine eyes require,
Nor can I bear the frustrated desire,
Nor yet relate my pain to any one—
Hard suffering, strange grief, delightful fire !

Your love-nets hold my hair-forsaken head,
For which my lips with wine are always red ;
Repentance born of reason you have wrecked,
And bid time tear the robe that patience made.

Akin to these amatory yearnings are the appreciations of
spring and out-door life :—

IV

Now that new joy to earth the Zephyrs bring,
And every living heart goes forth to spring,
On every bough the hand of Moses gleams
The voice of Jesus quickens everything.‡

[or, elsewhere, the same thought in varied phrase ;—

It is the season when the land grows green,
And Moses's hand upon the boughs is seen :
The breath of Jesus rises from the ground
And weeping clouds above the landscape lean.]

" I am Joseph's flower from Egypt," said the Rose,
" My ruby mouth such glittering jewels shows "
I asked her to produce another sign ;—
" See," she replied, " with blood my raiment flows."

Here is a quatrain of which the original defies representation
in English :—

Look where I may, I see on every side
Fresh fountains § springing in the champain wide,
And lawns that once were called the plains of Hell
Now smile like Heaven, with ladies heavenly eyed.

* So one of our old poets :—

" Thy soul—the fixed foot—makes no show
To move, but does if t'other do :
And though it in the centre sit,
Yet when the other far doth roam,
It leans and hearkens after it.

And grows erect as that comes home ;
Such wilt thou be to me who must
Like the other foot obliquely run
Thy firmness makes the circle just

And me to end where I began. [Donne : *A Valediction*]

† So Byron ; " O ! that the desert were my dwelling-place
with one fair spirit for my minister."

‡ The hawthorn and wild roses are likened to the white hand of Moses.
The breath of Jesus is supposed to have had miraculous power [v. notes to
Sale's *Koran*.]

§ In the original, " Kanthar ;" the fabled river head of Paradise.

The most characteristic, however, of all Omar's moods is unhappily that of remonstrance or revolt. The religion in which he was born and nurtured was one of which we can easily see the central doctrine, and how it leads to antinomianism, by thinking of the Puritans and the influence of Calvinism in Europe. The origin of Evil has never been an easy department of theology ; and the purely Semitic view of the Deity gives much emphasis to the problem. Omar had inherited that view ; and could never quite shut it out, however he might shift and turn. If Allah was a Mighty Sultan, having all human powers in their extremest dimensions, his foreknowledge must be equalled by all his other attributes. He knows what crimes a man will commit before that criminal is born ; why then does He punish him for what he cannot help doing ? Nay, the very materials and machinery of evil must be of Divine origin or creation : how then can man be held answerable for the inevitable result ? These bewilderments must palliate, if they may not wholly excuse, a spirit of criticism which the enemies of our poet called "rebellious blasphemy," and which we cannot but deplore as needlessly flippant in some instances of expression. Yet there is a sincerity about them which goes a great way towards accounting for the tenacity with which human admiration has preserved these little poems. It will be hardly necessary to add that their author was no Atheist, not even an Agnostic. His addresses to the Deity, even when most audacious, are those of a convinced believer ; sometimes offering the advice of an intrepid subject to his sovereign, sometimes throwing out the shrewd comments of a court jester ; always recognising supremacy, often implying goodness. But let us hear :—

V.

If I go right, Thy guiding hand is—WHERE ?
 If I go darkling, Thy clear-light is—WHERE ?
 Dost Thou give Heaven for my obedience ?
 'Tis due ; but Thy benevolence is—WHERE ?

The impress of His hand the vessels keep,
 Who makes and throws them on the rubbish heap
 But if they turn out well why are they broken ?
 If ill, the blame is surely his to reap.

He makes Earth bear the firmamental thrust,
 He scars our hearts with sorrow, fear and lust,
 And many a ruby lip and perfumed lock
 Garners in clay and coffers in the dust.

When shame for sin committed stirs the heart,
 Hot from the breast the scalding eye-drops start
 And surely when the slave laments his fault
 Complete forgiveness is the master's part.

I drink, and every wise man does like me,
Which God, no doubt, regards indulgently—
Foreseen before the making of the world,
If I did not, where would His prescience be?
To keep from what is ordered beats our skill,
“ Bid ” and “ forbid ” are masters of our will;
Helpless we stand between their “ Yea ” and “ Nay, ”
Like guests advised to tilt, but not to spill.
Thou settest in my pathway snare and sin,
Saying ;— “ I slay thee if thou fall therein, ”
The world is free from Thy command no jot,
Thine the command, but mine is still the sin.

A similar complaint was made by a forgotten English poet of the time of Shakespeare.

“ Is it the mask or Majesty of power
To make offences, that it may forgive?
Nature herself doth her ownself deflower
To hate those errors she herself doth give

[GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE. *Mustapha*.

The last class named by Mr. Whinfield is that containing poems of submission and prayers for pardon. Without being a strong or persistent pietist, and, indeed, kept by his audacious humour from association with any school of mystics, Omar turned to his Lord in moments of dejection—

VI.

As we know Thee, the Zealot knows Thee not,
Like faithful followers strangers know Thee not,
Thou sayest—“ The wicked shall be sent to hell ; ”
—Say so to some of those that know Thee not !

Better in wine shops for Thy secrets yearn,
Than patter praises that by rote we learn ;
Ah ! Thou art Alpha and Omega still,
Whether Thou please to cherish or to burn.

His mercy gained, what cause have we for fear?
His scrip being full, what journey need we fear?
If by his grace my face be once made white,
In no degree the black-book will I fear.

I war in vain with nature—what is the cure?
I suffer for my doings—what is the cure?
I know his mercy covers all my sin,
For shame that He has seen it—What is the cure?

I weep, because I am of evil fame,
Defiled with many a lust and taint of shame ;
Commanded things undone, forbidden done,
I weep to find my life so full of blame.

Here the tone resembles that of *Job* ; despondent, but not without faith and self-respect. This class of quatrain also reminds us of the old Hebrew poet in another way. A few of the stanzas, however they have found their way into the text, are evidently hostile commentators' attempts to answer

Omar out of the resources of scandalised orthodoxy. The limits of space will only allow of one example. The poet had declared his trust—quite in the spirit of the man of Uz :—

I grovel to appease the Heavenly will,
I found no claim by good to atone for ill,
Whereso Thy bounty pleases, there will come
Undone as done, and done as undone still.

But there was a contemporary poet, who wrote opposition quatrains. His name was Abu Said Fazl Ullah, and one of his pious comments has found life on the margin of Omar's manuscript. This is it :—

Ah ! ne'er-do-well, that workest nought but ill,
Yet grovellest to appease the Heavenly will ;
Hope not for absolution ; evermore
Good will be good, and evil, evil still.

But before we close the book, let us take a hasty glance at one more of the poets' Chameleon phases, hardly included in any of the recognised classes, yet rightly noticed by Mr. Whinfield as characteristic of Omar. Readers of Horace recollect the attitude of which so strong an expression is to be found in the ode to Delliis :—* the friends reclining on the grassy bank of a stream, quaffing their wine under the shade.† In that attitude the astronomer of Kburasan is often to be seen ; sometimes careless, at others a little agitated by the anticipations of death and judgment. Here are a few random samples :—

At dawn a voice came from the house of wine ;
“ Ho ! reckless wastrels lying there supine,
Rise ! let us fill our measures full of drink
Before they fill your measures, yours and mine.”

I'll drink till such a scent of wine shall rise
Out of the earth where my dead carcase lies,
That cupsick revellers, passing by the place,
Shall from that scent receive new enterprise.

Ah ! comrades strengthen me with draughts of wine ‡
Until my sallow cheeks like rubies shine ;
And wash me in it after I am dead,
And stitch my shroud with tendrils of the vine.

If I drink wine it is not for delight,
Nor unto holiness to do despite ;
I drink to breathe a moment free from self,
No other cause would make me drink all night.

Unless girls pour the wine the wine is nought,
Without the music of the flute is nought.
Look as I may into the world's affairs,
Mirth is the only good, the rest is nought.

* *Carm* III. *Lib* II.

† *Dum res et aetas et sororum Fila trium patiuntur atra.*

‡ *Canticles*. II. 5.

Clouds come, and soon will feed the grass with rain,
 Let Life's glad moments make our senses fain ;
 Rest thee, dear friend, a while, and drink with me,
 Till, of our clay, fresh grass shall grow again.

We have found in European writing many diverse parallels for Omar's varying moods, and have seen that he had no plan, or "principle," no set intention of writing a continuous *Apologia pro vita sua*. Perhaps this very fitfulness it is that has endeared him to the fitful sons of men, and has given to the fugitive scraps of an Eastern astronomer's lost moments a charm which the world would not willingly let die. The general spirit is one of freedom and cheerfulness ; and everything is tolerated but intolerance. Mr. Stokes has admirably caught this in a stanza which—if not exactly answering to any one of Omar's, yet sums up his entire teaching :—

" This is the time for roses and repose
 Beside the stream that through the meadow flows.
 A friend or two, a rose-like lady love,
 With wine ; and not to hear the clergy prose."

Or, perhaps, the only explanation of these "loose stanzas," in their inconsistency, is that we see Japhet dwelling in the tents of Shem, and observe the Aryan uneasiness under the yoke of an alien orthodoxy.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. IV.—THE CRIMINAL AND CRIME :

A REVIEW OF THE NEW SCIENCE.

THE two books which it is proposed here to review are the most interesting works which have been published on the criminal in English of late years. They are associated here partly for the sake of contrast. The first is a short and comprehensive review of the New Science known as Criminal Anthropology,* the other gives the experiences of an able official,† who has, for 25 years, been in Her Majesty's Prison Service in England.

In the following pages first will be given a brief account, or summary, of the results of the active labours of that group of savants who have lately appeared, chiefly in Italy and France, who are known by the title of criminal anthropologists ; after which we will discuss the practical bearing of the said results.

In treating such a subject as crime, surrounded, as it is, by so many questions of social and political importance, it will be necessary to avoid, on the one hand, a weak sentimentality, and, on the other hand, a too complacent optimism.

The causes of crime are many and various. Many factors take part in its production. Such have even been found in the influence of climate. But the social factor is the most important of all, and has been studied the most. The relation between crimes against the person and the price of alcohol, between crimes against property and the price of wheat, belong to the social aspect of the study of crime. "The social environment," says a French writer, "is the cultivation medium of crime : the criminal is the microbe. He can only flourish in a suitable soil."

It is the individual, or biological, aspect of crime that has been so much worked up of late years. Under this heading is included the consideration of all the personal peculiarities of the criminal—anatomical, physiological and mental. This, though in our opinion by no means the most important factor, is one which has been little studied by Englishmen ; to it, therefore, we shall devote special attention. Without a knowledge of the criminal's physical and mental nature, we cannot wisely deal with the social factors.

* *The Criminal*. By HAVELOCK ELLIS (Contemporary Science Series). 1890.

† *Secrets of the Prison House*. By MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS (Chapman and Hall). 1894.

Before going into this matter it is necessary to clear ground by describing the chief varieties of criminals. We use the terms now commonly in vogue among the new school of criminologists, which are sufficiently practical to be accepted by all.

We may begin with a type which is often heard about now-a-days—the *political criminal*. One writer defines him “as the victim of an attempt by a more or less despotic Government to preserve its own stability.” He is consequently regarded, according to individual prejudice, either as a hero and martyr, or as a social pest. If his aims are merely anti-social, he is simply an ordinary criminal, and should be regarded as such; on the other hand, the form of Government he is fighting against *may* in itself be anti-social, in which case the ‘political’ criminal will be regarded in a favourable light. The term is not a happy one; like the word “heretic,” its meaning changes according to the personal opinions of the man who uses it. A good deal of nonsense has been said and written of late about ‘political’ crime. We must bring down these self-styled exceptional criminals to their proper level as vulgar malefactors. Anarchy, for instance, is nothing new; it is simply a new name for an old thing—defiance of all law. Anarchists are simply vulgar malefactors. There is no difference between those who murder under cover of a phrase and those who murder without a phrase at all.

We have next the *criminal by passion*. He is usually a man of honest life, with keen feelings, who, under stress of some great and unmerited wrong, has sought out justice for himself. He does not become a recidivist. The social instincts are strong in him. Next comes the *insane criminal*, that is, the man who, being *already* in a condition of recognised mental alienation, commits some crime. He may be impelled by delusions, or uncontrollable impulses, or influenced by the same notions which actuate a sane person. This type brings us near to the criminal in the sense with which we are here chiefly concerned. Between the insane and the *instinctive*, or *born, criminal*, there is a borderland, in which a type appears which is very difficult to classify. We will quote one recent example at some length:—

“Marie Schneider, aged 12, a school girl, not pretty, yet not ugly. Forehead slightly receded. She answered all questions in Court with great clearness and precision. She stated that she was wilfully idle; that she knew the meaning of the sixth commandment. She confessed to cruelty towards other children on several occasions. She knew that murder was punishable by death. She deliberately killed a child for the sake of her gold earrings. In prison the only complaint she made was that the bread was dry. She was intelligent beyond her years, but was morally an idiot. The Court gave her eight years’ imprisonment.”

Such a case as this is hard to classify. She was clearly not insane, but is a striking example of complete *moral insensibility*.

We now come to the most important variety, the *instinctive criminal*, of which there could be no better example than the well-known Thomas Wainwright—essayist, literary critic, poisoner, forger and murderer. Wainwright is a perfect type of the instinctive criminal, who, in his fully-developed form, is a moral monster. His instincts are distinctly anti-social and are usually accompanied with a high development of sensual impulses. The recent Australian murderer, Deeming, was also of this class. The next form is very common, *viz.*, the *occasional criminal*. Weakness and proneness to succumb to temptation is his characteristic. Poverty and hunger drive this class to crime. Under considerate care, such individuals are often rescued from their bad beginnings to lead honest lives, though too often the bad effects of prison company corrupt them, and they drift into the 'habitual' class. The *habitual* does not, to use the familiar words of the Latin Grammar, "become suddenly most base." The steps are slow and gradual. The great crime is linked on to a chain of slight and sporadic vices and offences. Closely akin to, or included among, the 'habituals,' are the *professional* criminals. These men are usually intelligent and guided by rational motives. They deliberately choose this method of gaining their livelihood. The famous French criminal Lacenaire, *le criminal élégant*, 'the bandit-Brummel of his blood-stained order,' was of this class. It need scarcely be said that these types are not absolutely distinct; for example, the professional is necessarily an habitual, and often an instinctive, criminal as well.

Let us now say a few words about the origin of the new science which has grown up within the last twenty years. The name commonly given to it—'criminal anthropology'—is cumbrous: 'criminal biology' has been proposed, but is too narrow; 'criminology,' though a hybrid term, seems the best that can be got. However, call it what we will, such a science has an existence, and a considerable amount of literature has grown up around it. This work has been almost entirely confined to France and Italy. In England almost nothing has been done in this direction. The British public is for the most part ignorant even of its existence. Undoubtedly there is much that is crude, immature, and fantastic in this new science; but that there is a solid substratum of truth in it, cannot be gainsaid. It is not so much the facts that have been elucidated that are difficult to understand; it is rather that the doctrine, if carried to its logical end, is difficult to apply and subversive of many time-honoured customs and forms.

There are many sayings and proverbs, handed down from primitive times, which show that men early began to perceive that certain organic peculiarities separated the criminal from the ordinary man. The empirical science of physiognomy was well known to the Greeks and Romans, centuries before Lavater was born. Aristotle, Galen and Seneca recognised many signs of crime and vice that are in accordance with modern knowledge. The two latter advocated the removal, by death, of instinctive criminals, not in revenge, but for the same reason as we destroy snakes, scorpions, or mad dogs. Among modern writers on the subject of the criminal are Gall, Lauverne, Despine, Maudsley, Wilson, Ferri, Mons. Tarde, Kraft-Ebing, Quetelet and Lombroso (of Turin). Of all the workers in this field, Lombroso is the most important. The first volume of his great work, *L'Uomo Delinquente*, was published in 1876; the second not till 1889. This work has been compared in importance with Darwin's "Origin of Species:" both gave an immense impulse to the study of their special subjects. We shall see later on that Lombroso attributes too much importance to the biological factor in criminality, to the neglect of the social. He acknowledges this, but with the remark that it was due to the fact that hitherto this side had been too much neglected.

We will now consider those physical peculiarities which are said by the above writers to characterise the *born* criminal.

Beginning with the skull and brain, it is said that both *small* and *large* heads are found in greater proportions among criminals than medium-sized ones. This is also true of the insane. The sugar-loaf form of head is often found among them, though it must be remembered that it is also met with in the highest types of humanity—the men of genius. Shakspeare's head, for example, was of this shape. A low, flat-roofed skull is common and is characteristic of degeneration. The size of the orbit is often great with marked exaggeration of the orbital arches and frontal sinuses. Receding foreheads have always been popularly recognised as being of a low type. The frontal crest is stronger and more prominent in criminals, as also in the lower races and in certain apes. Want of cranial symmetry is often marked. Any of these cranial defects may be found in a normal person, but very rarely are they combined to the same extent as in instinctive criminals. The *weight* of the brain does not seem to differ much. It is well known that Gambetta's brain was found very small. The brain convolutions have received much attention: in the criminal, it appears, there is a special frequency of fissures running together, *i. e.*, communicating with each other. "When these are numerous," said Broca, "they indicate degeneration." Signs

of *meningitis*, or inflammation of the brain membrane, are specially frequent.*

A square and prominent jaw is an obvious feature in many, especially those guilty of crimes of violence. The small receding chin is more frequent among petty thieves. Other observers note prominence of the cheek bones. Not much is known about their teeth. The criminal ear has been much studied. Projecting and voluminous ears are frequently seen among them. Ear deformities are frequent, too, in idiots as well as criminals. Not much definite can be said of their noses. They are said to be large, and often to deviate to one side. The pallor of the skin of criminals has been often noted. Wrinkles are said to be more frequent among them and to be met with at a very early age. The beard is usually scanty, while the hair on the head is often abundant. Baldness, which is common among the insane, is rare amongst criminals. Early grey hair is also rare: another point linking the born criminal to the epileptic. As to colour all that can be said is that there is a relative deficiency of red-haired persons among them. Beauty of face is very rare. The sameness of their appearance, when seen together in large numbers, has often been remarked. A cringing, timid, 'whipped dog' look has been noted. A curious fixed look about the eye is often found. An interesting point for those who deal with crime in India is, that these facts are said to be, *to a great extent, independent of nationality*. Forgers and poisoners have often an air of *bonhomie*, and are of benevolent aspect. This is part of their stock-in-trade.

In spite of all we have quoted above, it cannot be said that the writers have made criminal physiognomy a very exact science.

With regard to the body, the muscular system is generally feeble, though capable of great spasmodic effort. There is some reason to believe that long arms are frequent in criminals. Disease of the lungs and of the heart are also common. Various abnormalities of the sexual organs are frequently found.

We now come to the question of heredity.

The hereditary character of crime has been recognised from remote antiquity. In this there are two factors: innate disposition and contagion from social environment. "A bad home will usually mean something bad in the heredity in the strict sense." Another point in this connection is that often a generation of criminals is merely one stage in the progressive degeneration of a family.

* In this connection we may note the fact that, in the Dublin University Museum, there is a collection of skulls of murderers taken from an old Jail, which nearly all show signs of *healed-up* fractures.—W J. B.

The family is usually neurotic (insanity, epilepsy and spinal disease). Alcoholism and phthisis are also very common. Disparity in age of parents is said to be of some import. Murderers are said frequently to be the offspring of aged parents in a state of decadence. Also alcoholism in parents is one of the most fruitful causes of crime among the children. It is recognised that temporary intoxication at the time of conception has a pernicious influence upon the nervous system of the offspring. Inebriety itself is an evidence of unsoundness ; often the sign of slow and insidious brain disease. It is said that, when crime is committed by inebriates, the probability of mental disease is strong. The poison lets loose the individual's natural or morbid impulses. On the whole, there can be no doubt that the criminal parent tends to produce a criminal child. At times the criminal tradition is carried on through many generations. There is a family in America, 'the Jukes,' whose history has been carefully studied. The number of its individuals who have been traced, is 709. With few exceptions, the whole of them have been criminals, prostitutes, vagabonds, or paupers. Readers of Zola will remember the series of novels dealing with the Rougon-Macquart family. In the last one (*Dr. Pascal*), their genealogical tree is given. It is a terrible record of neurotic disease, insanity and crime. This record in fiction corresponds to Mr. Dugdale's history of the 'Jukes' family in real life.

The practice of tatooing is very common among criminals. This is a strange fact, as such marks might be thought to be dangerous, giving the police an easy means of identification. It is common to many nations, especially among soldiers and sailors. The causes are complex and need not here be discussed. It is probably a survival of a primitive custom.

Left-handedness is common enough among honest people, but perhaps specially so among the class we are considering. It is best tested in the act of throwing a stone. The tendon reflexes of the knee are often either in excess, or absent, among them. This is a well known sign of certain nervous diseases. The deficient sensibility of criminals to pain has often been noticed. This is common, too, among idiots and the lower human races. Though loud in their complaints of trivial ailments, they are often unconscious of severe illness. It is well known to every Jail medical officer what tortures they will inflict upon themselves to make themselves ill, in the hope of being rewarded by an easy time in hospital. Their eyesight is usually superior to the normal : another analogy between them and savage races. On the other hand, it appears that the criminal senses of hearing, smell and taste are below the average. Lombroso notes that criminals are specially sensible

to changes of weather. Their inability to blush is proverbial. This, too, they share with idiots and savages.

The moral insensibility of the instinctive criminal, his absence of remorse, his cheerfulness are well known. "If criminals," wrote Gall, "have remorse at all, it is that they have not committed more crimes, or that they have allowed themselves to be caught." "Few individuals in prison," writes Mr. Michael Davitt,* "gave any evidence of being truly miserable." Their cynicism and apathy displayed upon the scaffold is a notorious fact. Exaggerated and precocious cruelty toward animals is often recorded. In India no motive for murder is too unnatural, or too far-fetched, to be occasionally true.

It is often said that criminals are, as a rule, intelligent. Some do show undoubted intellectual power, for example, Villon, the French poet; Vidocq, first a criminal, afterwards a great French detective; and, in England, the celebrated Jonathan Wild, the hero of many a tale. His power of organisation and of enforcing discipline were Napoleonic. But such men are the exceptions. Criminals are usually very stupid: their cunning is on a level with that of savages and wild animals. "Their stupidity," says M. Mace, a former Chief of the Paris Police, "is scarcely credible." In planning crime, they seldom calculate all the possible eventualities. Their vanity is notorious; "they share this," says Lombroso, "with the artist and literary man, but far excel them in this respect." Vanity, in its extreme forms, marks an abnormal man. The author of a great crime is looked upon by his fellows as a hero; he himself looks down upon petty thieves. This same feeling doubtless leads to the frequency with which criminals keep diaries. The emotional instability of this class is well known. They are everywhere incapable of sustained work. They are constitutionally lazy. Their whole art lies in the endeavour to escape work. Nevertheless they are capable of moments of violent activity. The criminal loves excitement, or uproar, to lift him out of his habitual inertia. Hence his love of alcohol, gambling, and the sexual excitement, which, even in its worst forms, they indulge in from an early age. This craving for excitement and love of change finds its satisfaction in orgies, which this class are very fond of. These spontaneous outbursts are well deserving of study by all prison officials. It is partly to these periodic explosions (*Zuchthaus Knall*, as the Germans call them) that the *emeutes* and outbreaks which disturb the serenity of prison life are due. On this point Major Griffiths agrees with us. He says "the causes of prison

* *Leaves from a Prison Diary*, p. 119.

mutinies can be traced to one or other of these causes, either weakness in the executive, or a well grounded dissatisfaction at ill-usage, or to this overwhelming and unceasing desire for change." "This becomes" he goes on to say, "such a passion with convicts that they are ready to run every risk and incur every punishment, even to death, in its pursuit." It must be remembered that, under the strict discipline necessary in a prison, every manifestation of a prisoner's personality is considered an offence; but such insubordination is not always voluntary: it is spontaneous, and cannot be suppressed. A precisely similar involuntary impulse has been noted among savage races. It is useful for prison authorities to bear this fact in mind.

In spite of the moral insensibility we have shown to exist in the criminal, it must be added that he is very open to sentiment. Any refinement, or tenderness in their natures appears in this form. It often shows itself in their love for tame animals as pets. "A German, having murdered his sweetheart, went back to the house to let loose a tame canary, which he thought might suffer from neglect!" Family affection is by no means rare. "Some of the most unscrupulous rascals," says Inspector Byrnes of New York, "who ever cracked a safe, or forged a coin, were at home model husbands and fathers." Criminals appreciate kindness and sympathy; the attention they bestow upon the sick is an estimable trait. This often fantastic sentimentality is the pleasantest side of the criminal nature, and the most hopeful for attempt at reform. As regards religion and superstition, it must not be supposed that their religion is always insincere and hypocritical. In religion, their primitive, unstable emotional nature finds what it needs. When he is not devout, the criminal is either stupid or brutally indifferent. Intelligently non-religious men are seldom found in prisons.

We need not here delay to describe thieves' slang, the use of which marks the recidivist. It would be interesting to know if there is—or to what extent there is—a thieves' *argot* among Indian criminals. It would be strange if there were not. Criminals often show a taste for literature, generally, indeed, only in the form of inscriptions, or verses, on their cell walls. It is a curious fact that several well-known literary men have, in their own writings, revealed themselves as distinct criminals,

* According to Lombroso, Verlaine is a "mattoid," or semi-insane (*Anglice* 'crank?'). An interesting study of this type appears in Lombroso's "Man of Genius," chap. 3 (English Edition). In this work is shown the connection between genius, insanity and epilepsy. Napoleon, Julius Cæsar, St. Paul, Mahomet, Swift, Richelieu, &c., were epileptics. Napoleon is an example of instinctive criminality, epilepsy, and, above all, genius. The whole subject makes a fascinating study.—*Vide* Lombroso's book in the Contemporary Science Series,—W.J.B.

e.g., Villon, the great French poet ; Cellini, the great sculptor ; Casanova, &c. In our own day it will surprise many to learn that M. Paul Verlaine,* the chief of the new so-called 'Decadent' school in literature, is a criminal, convicted for an attempt upon the life of his companion in sexual perversity. The portraits of Verlaine's head which have appeared of late in the illustrated papers, show rather the head of a criminal than of a man of genius—a heavy jaw, projecting orbits, sugar-loaf head,—the type which an early French writer called 'Satanic.' The old painters frequently depicted this form of head on their Satans and evil genii.†

So far we have summarised (chiefly from Mr. Ellis' book) the results of the investigations into this side of the criminal nature. What is the significance of these facts? Here we come upon more dangerous ground. According to the new science, the born, or instinctive, criminal is a distinct type of humanity. Indeed, Lombroso goes on to say that, "if the "men of any profession (who have a decided vocation for it) "were as accurately measured and studied as the criminal "class have been, there would evolve a special type for each "profession." In fact, we do often speak of a person who is successful in his own line, as a born soldier, a born lawyer, &c. In a similar sense it is claimed that there is a distinct type of the born criminal.

His characteristics may be briefly recapitulated as follows :—

A special shape of skull, a pale, prematurely wrinkled face, outstanding or otherwise deformed ears, a marked, projecting, or receding chin and scanty beard. He is constitutionally lazy, and incapable of sustained work. His muscular strength is weak, but capable of great spasmodic effort. He is usually ugly, the fixed look in the eye may be noted, especially during effort. He is liable especially to diseases of the lungs and heart. He comes of a neurotic, or criminal, stock ; is addicted to alcoholism. He frequently tatoos himself ; the tendon reflexes are abnormal. He shows a deficient sensibility to pain. While his eyesight is keen, his other senses are usually inferior. He is remorseless and indifferent to suffering. His intelligence is below the average. He has a strong craving for excitement and change and a love of orgy. Is liable to spontaneous and periodic outbursts of violence. He is open to sentiment, superstitious, and attracted to the emotional side of religion. He has a special language of his own. His instincts are, in fine, *antisocial*, and he frequently believes that crime

† Those who remember Hogarth's caricature of 'Liberty' Wilkes, will see the same type.—W.J.B.

is an honourable calling! Many of his characteristics are found in savages and animals. While abnormal in his physical qualities, the moral side of his nature is a blank. Though not intellectually, he is often *morally*, an idiot.

It is not that these qualities may not be found among honest people; it is that criminals present a far larger proportion of such abnormalities. This is exactly what Sir William Turner found in the skulls of savage races brought home in the *Challenger*.

While admitting this, we must remark that there is a tendency to put too much emphasis on the morbid element. Insanity is undoubtedly frequent in criminals. They are also closely allied to epileptics* and idiots. They are seldom, however, weak-minded.

Idiots, as we see them in asylums, have rarely any criminal instincts. We must, therefore, be on our guard, while recognising the morbid element in the criminal, not, on that account, to consider him irresponsible for his actions.

This brings us to the question of the treatment of criminals and the prevention of crime.

Crime, like disease, we have always had with us. The causes of both lie deep down in our social system. Poverty, misery, idleness, alcoholism—all go to make up the environment out of which the criminal emerges. "All societies have the criminals they deserve," said a writer. These social causes must be removed before we can expect to get rid of crime and disease. How this may be done, we cannot here concern ourselves with. In criminality, bad social surroundings are the soil in which alone the criminal microbe can flourish. To carry on the simile, we must try to attenuate the microbe by cultivation, that is, education, so as to render it as harmless as possible.

Great and numerous are the improvements which have been made in the laws dealing with crime of late years.

* At the time of writing, the following appears in a leader in the *Daily Telegraph*:—Talking of the Anarchists—"The malady at the bottom of their diseased natures is vain-glory. Their passion is for publicity. Professor Lombroso, the celebrated Italian writer upon criminals, has published a study of such beings as Santo (the murderer of M. Carnot). He allows to them certain qualities, such as desperate resolution and reckless readiness to die. But in all of them alike—Booth, Sand, Ravachol, Vaillant, Henry, Santo—he finds this fanatical fury to be known and talked about. . . . He accounts for this, not by madness, but by the epileptic taint. Two of Santo's uncles are in an incurable hospital with epileptic pellagra. The Professor mentions many other assassins who, sane in every other respect, were epileptics, and displayed these paroxysms of personal vanity. They focus their forces not so much on the crime as upon the speech they will afterwards make in the dock in defiance of law and humanity."—*Daily Telegraph*, July 26, 1894.

Some countries have gone far beyond England in this respect ; but such advance is not always on the right side, and often leads to a weakness and pusillanimity in regard to crime, which, in the present conditions of human nature, is premature and dangerous.

Let us first see what the advanced criminologists have to say on this matter. Says Mr. Ellis :—

“ If every truly criminal act proceeds from a person in a more or less abnormal condition, the notion of ‘ punishment ’ loses much of its foundation. We cannot punish a monstrosity for acting according to its monstrous nature, ”

The old conception of punishment was founded upon the assumption of the normality of the criminal, as though he, a normal person, had chosen to act as an abnormal one : as if a vine had chosen to bring forth thorns instead of grapes.

The true basis for all legal action against crime is the reaction of society against the person committing an anti-social deed. This, in its crudest form, is ‘ Lynch law ; ’ in its most highly developed form, it shows itself in the elaborate training bestowed on the criminal at the Elmira Reformatory in New York.

The new feeling with regard to the criminal has shown itself chiefly with regard to capital punishment. In some countries the tendency to avoid resorting to this extreme is very marked. The chief argument against it which appeals to practical people, is that it is irrevocable, though mistakes must always be possible. It is also said that it is not always to the worst class of criminal that it is applied. “ The real hardened criminal, ” says Mr. Davitt, “ seldom commits murder Murder is generally the offspring of passion, or revenge, ” except, we would add, in the case of the instinctive criminal.

Let us now turn to the prisons.

All will acknowledge that the two avowed and most obvious aims of imprisonment are to cure the actual, and deter the possible, criminal.

Major Griffiths, in his work, gives descriptions of prisons in various countries in Europe and America. Many of them, in some Continental countries, he describes as ‘ Hells upon earth. ’ It will surprise many to find that in this respect some parts of the United States are far behind the rest of the world. This will be understood when it is mentioned that some of the States actually *lease out* their prisoners to contractors for certain periods at a certain price. In Tennessee, for instance, “ the Legislature has not only abnegated “ all responsibility for the treatment of its criminal classes, “ by hiring them as slaves to an irresponsible company, but has “ tied its own hands by a contract, which forbids all action for

"six years after passing the bill." This in the year of Grace 1894!

The Russian prisons, too, have become a byword of reproach. On the other hand, the best prisons of Belgium, France and Italy are models of cleanliness and routine. Those of England are equal to, if not better than, those anywhere else. Our Indian jails are now rapidly becoming equal in order, discipline and cleanliness to any in England. *If we cannot be said to have reformed the prisoner, we have at least reformed the prison*,—an easier task, and one which shows more tangible results. In good prisons, the convict is well cared for: he is supplied with all the necessities, and not a few of the comforts of life. "The hardest labour in our prisons is such that no prisoner could get a living outside if he did not work harder," says the Rev. Mr. Horsley.* "In English prisons," says another writer, "there is now a lower mortality, and probably a lesser sickness, than in the most comfortable homes in the kingdom." What is more natural than this when we find epidemic poisons shut out (not always possible in India), famine shut out, luxury shut out, drink shut out, exposure to cold and wet shut out, acute mental worry shut out, the hungry strain for to-morrow's bed and board shut out.

Yet we are not satisfied. No, say the criminologists. "Why are our prisons failures?" asks Mr. Horsley. In the face of the phenomena of recidivism, and men and women with a hundred convictions, we cannot pretend that they are as deterrent as they should be. The prisoner, too often, is merely *suspended temporarily* from habits of crime. It is as if a small-pox patient were discharged from hospital after so many weeks, whether cured or not. Another writer calls Jails manufactories of criminals. Michael Davitt, who has had personal experience of several prisons, speaks of them as elaborate punishment machines, destitute of discrimination, feeling, or sensitiveness, mechanically reducing human beings to the uniform level of disciplined brutes. M. Emile Gautier calls a prison a hot-house for poisonous plants. He points out, what no one will doubt, that there is a great difference between the '*bon detenu*' and the '*bon sujet*.' Habituals are often the most easy to manage, the most supple, the most hypocritical; and, therefore, favourites with the officials. "Imprisonment," again, to quote another writer, "especially, if short, is an excitation to crime."

There is another point which is often brought home to us in India. This is the fact, that often the Jail is simply a welcome and comfortable home. It is well known that in

* *Jottings from Jail* (1887).

England it is preferred to the workhouse. "There can be no doubt," says an Italian writer, "that the life of a prisoner is superior from a material point of view to that which most of them are accustomed to lead in liberty." The perpetration of offences for the purpose of obtaining admission to prison is far from uncommon. The habitual prisoner is accustomed to Jail life, and cares for no other ; is suited for no other.

What then is the remedy proposed for such a state of affairs ?

According to the new school, whose views we have extensively quoted above, the key to the failure of the prison lies in the system of giving definite and predetermined sentences by Judges who, being ignorant of the nature of the individual before them, cannot know the effect of the sentence upon him.

It is claimed by this school that criminal anthropology enables us to discriminate between criminal and criminal, and to apply to each individual his appropriate treatment. The first reform, therefore, advocated, is the substitution of an *indefinite* sentence for the predetermined Judicial one, the order for release to be given when the prison authorities consider the prisoner reformed. This system is being tried in several countries. The best known example is that of the State Reformatory of Elmira in New York. Here prisoners are let out on parole for a probationary period of six months before actual release. It is said that, of the thousands who have passed through Elmira, only a small percentage prove recidivists. Another reform advocated, is the necessity for careful training of prison warders. If they do not understand the convict, there is little hope of the latter being socialised. Another and more doubtful reform advocated is the introduction of highly-skilled voluntary teachers, fresh from the outside world of men, for the criminals. It is not easy to see how fanatical, inexperienced, or merely curious, persons are to be excluded from such voluntary visiting. Dr. Way, of Elmira, writes :—

"The time of the convict should be so employed in his workshop and school duties as to leave him no time to revive his past, and live over again in memory his criminal days. Each hour should bring its employments and engage his attention till the time of sleep."

At Elmira, the treatment adopted consists of bathing, massage, drill, gymnastics and school work. It may be worth noting that this system was begun at Elmira because, owing to the jealousy of manufacturers, the law put a stop to productive prison labour. It is said, too, that at Elmira, with the physical culture and improvement, there came a mental awakening. The animal man recedes into the intellectual. In Japan, it is reported, a similar institution is working admirably. It is scarcely necessary to add that, in such a system, flogging can have no place.

Along with the indeterminate sentence, there must always be conditional liberation, *i.e.*, "ticket of leave." It will, of course, be agreed that, with any system, there should be a sound method of registration and recognition. The method of M. Alphonse Bertillon is now adopted in many countries. In Bengal it has been in force for some time past.

Another suggestion, is a method of dealing with '*occasional*' criminals, *viz.*, that of pronouncing sentences of imprisonment to hang over the head of the inculpatated person for a limited period, as a guarantee of good conduct. They also recommend that the old English system of giving recognisances be extended.

We have thus far dealt with the ideas of the new school. It will have been seen that they, recognising the criminal as a degenerate type, seek to turn prisons into huge moral hospitals. Every individual prisoner is to be a 'case,' whose condition is to be studied, and whose cure is to be attempted. When he is 'convalescent,' he is to be discharged. In fact they seek to treat the *morally* degenerate in the same way as, in lunatic asylums, we now treat the intellectually degenerate.

The first and most obvious objection to this system is that it would necessitate the transfer of judicial functions from the usual tribunals to some newly-constituted prison, or philanthropical authority, with whom would rest the grave responsibility of measuring amendment, and of according release. This might prove a dangerous and corrupt doctrine. Their case would indeed be a hard one, if individuals were made answerable for the size of their heads, their large ears and beardless chins, and not for what they choose to do. It is admitted by Major Griffiths that little has been done in England towards *reforming* the prisoner. — He claims that the British system is the growth of time and the product of experience, and that, in the many changes introduced during the century, the aim and object has been progressive improvement. A writer in the *Daily Chronicle*, some months ago, made a series of severe attacks upon the English prison system, complaining, among other things, that the officials did not study, or paid little attention to, the labours of contemporary prison reformers on the Continent. Major Griffiths' book is an answer to this.

The science of crime is too new ; the results are so far too vague to justify any great change in our methods.* While welcoming all the work of the criminologists, it will be time enough

* At the time of writing, the papers say, that the line of defence to be adopted by the advocate for Santo (the murderer of the President), is that he belongs to the type described above, and is, therefore, not responsible for his deeds. This shows the danger of a too literal application of the above facts, and tends to bring the science into disrepute.—W. J. B.

to make far-reaching changes in our Judicial and Police procedure, when they have shown more clearly and definitely the road along which reform must proceed, and when the social conditions which lie around the childhood of criminals have been considerably ameliorated.

It seems to the writer that, in India, we have some reason to congratulate ourselves on the progress that has been made in Jail reform. In our large Indian Jails we have a complete system of trade-teaching. The hand and eye are trained. Many branches of industry are taught—farming, carpentry, weaving, cane-work, rope-making, tailoring, smithing and even printing,—all useful trades, which may serve to awaken an ambition to pursue a lawful calling, so that, when the time comes for release, and he comes again into contact with society, the ex-convict will not be handicapped by ignorance, or want of means, of earning an honest livelihood. We may apply the words of Major Griffiths about English Jails to those of India :—

“ They may be no more perfect than other human institutions, but their administrators have laboured long and steadfastly to approximate to perfection.
“ Incarceration must continue till some other form of punishment has been devised ; prisons are still indispensable, only they should be constructed, governed, and used in accordance with humanity, justice, and common sense.”

We have written this article to call the attention of those in charge of Jails in India to the work which is being done in other countries with regard to the criminal. How far the European results of criminology apply to Indian criminals it is difficult to say. There is a vast field for research in this matter. The Government of India is handing over the charge of all their Jails to the Medical Service. To Medical men such researches as those described above must be interesting and not difficult to carry out. We have here indicated a field for further research as interesting as it is important.

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July 1894.

ART. V.—ANCIENT RELIGIONS BEFORE THE GREAT ANNO DOMINI.

IN the Proceedings of former International Oriental Congresses, there have been most valuable communications on the subjects of Archæology, Astronomy, Geography, Language, Literature, Ethnology, Medical Science, Religion, Mythology, and Folklore; but the communications on Religion have been on particular portions of the great subject in different countries, and at different periods. I do not find that in any previous Congress the great feature of the history of the human race, "the Religious Conceptions," have been discussed as a whole, in the light thrown upon them by discoveries within the last quarter of a century; and yet it seems to be a subject worthy of an Oriental Congress.

In a communication which I made last year, 1893, to the Congress of the World, held at Chicago, U.S., on the subject of the "Progress of our Knowledge of African Philology," I ventured to affirm the remark of a great American authority, that "the religious instinct, like the language-making faculty, was a part, and an *indispensable* part, of the mental outfit of the human race." In each individual of the human race, in all times, has been found the threefold conception of "Self, the World, God:" Language is the vehicle, by which Self communicates with the World, his fellow-creatures, whom he knows, and he thus makes his wants and wishes intelligible: Religion is the vehicle, by which Self gropes into darkness, and tries to make his wishes known to, and to conciliate, the unknown Power conceived in his mind, and represented under various names, and attributes, as God. No history of the past is complete without some knowledge of the linguistic apparatus, and religious conceptions of the individuals, and nations, who played their part in that past.

Unfortunately in former years prejudice, and partiality, ignorance, and fanaticism, have prevented a calm and judicious discussion of the subject, not on the relative merits of this or that conception, but on the facts. But in the last twenty years there has been a great clearing of the atmosphere, and it is quite possible for reasonable men to discuss the subject without importing personal, national, or denominational, bitterness into the problem.

Dogmatic religion proceeds on the assumption by the writer, or speaker, that *his* view of the great subject is the *only* right one, and the *only* true view of the Universe. The science of

religion makes no such assertion, and keeps the mind quite free from personalities, as well as praise, or blame, of particular conceptions. It takes for its subject all such conceptions within any fixed limitation of time, and treats them simply as historical phenomena, without venturing on any opinion whether any, or which of them, have any claim to truth, for in very deed that is a matter of faith incapable of proof: the facts collected are quite amenable to the laws of evidence. Formerly any form of religion other than one's own was considered to be bad, dishonourable to God, and requiring to be put down by force, or social ostracism. It is not so now: there is no proof that God is dishonoured; at least such dishonour is not intended. The whole point of view is altered. Each man is thrown back on his own consciousness, if he thinks at all, and leaves other people alone; if he be humble-minded, he is willing to listen to the solemn voices, and messages, of the past. For the men who believed in, and were ready to die for, those forgotten religious conceptions, were men of like passions as this generation of men, and, if we believe anything, were made in the Image of God.

My remarks are restricted entirely to the great religious conceptions which came into existence before the fulness of Time, and the great Anno Domini, which marks a distinct intellectual division between the past and present, at least, as regards Europe, West Asia, and North Africa: thus, in this discussion there will be no allusion to the great religious conception which dates from Anno Domini, nor to the great religious conception of Islam, which sprang into existence six hundred years later. It will be remarked that both the excluded phenomena are propagandist, monotheist, and book-religions. These great features are not found united in any one of the great religious conceptions which came into existence before that date, and which now pass under review.

All expression of abuse, or disparagement, or praise, of the subjects discussed are out of place; all contrasts of one with another, favourably or unfavourably, are equally avoided. There is not the least reason for attributing to the writer any laxity, or haziness, in his own religious persuasions: quite the contrary; they are dearer to him than life, but they are placed on one side in this discussion, as they would be in solving a mathematical calculation, searching out the meaning of a sentence in a previously unknown language, or working out any other scientific problem.

In the present epoch, intellectual, and political, religious belief, as a principle, and standard of conduct, is more firmly implanted in the social attitude of man than ever it has been before. An individual is labelled in the census of his nation

as belonging to such and such a group. As there is no opportunity for intolerance, the merits, and demerits of any particular conception, or practice, can be fairly discussed. Those who do not consider it an open question to themselves, are compelled by social pressure to allow the liberty to others. Ignorance, prejudice, and fanaticism have been trodden down, and uniformity of belief is not probable, nor, unless the result of free choice, is it desirable. Moreover the present discussion is restricted to that portion of the subject which existed before the dawn of that great religious conception which now dominates the civilized world.

For any description of details of dogma, or practice, reference must be made to the numerous learned volumes which have lately appeared in several European languages, for there is no excuse for ignorance now ; there are few branches of science, that have been so fully, so sympathetically, and so exhaustively, discussed, as that of the religious conceptions of the ancient world ; and from this store of knowledge of facts, certain deductions can, by the ordinary processes of reason, be safely made : there is no fear of giving offence, or wounding the feelings of others, as the great majority of the frequenters of this Congress belong to a different world of religious conceptions, and, if one or two representatives of old-world ideas are present, they will hear nothing which are not quotations from esteemed books well-known to themselves.

These lines are not prompted by the feelings of an atheist, or a cynic, or a fanatic : Facts are recognised, based upon documentary evidence which cannot be disputed, and survivals of religious belief and practice which are patent to all inquirers. It can no longer be asserted, that the Jewish religious conception, and the Hebrew Scriptures, contain the unique and only record, that has survived that great epoch of the Roman Empire in Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa, which divides History into two segments, one of actual historical continuity, and the other of dim legendary uncertainty. The discoveries of the last half-century have altered the whole platform of discussion : books written in past centuries are out of court, as martyrdom, miracles, prophecy, high morality, a knowledge of a future state with rewards and punishments, high aspirations of religious thinkers, long lives of purity and devotion, and self-sacrifice, for the sake of an idea, the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Mankind, are evidenced in the revealed literature of the ancient religious conceptions of mankind. Call it what you like, it is the voice calling out from the mummy-pit of Egypt, the excavations of Mesopotamia, the ancient manuscripts of India, Persia, and China, that there is a Power greater than

man, and that the hearts of all mankind insensibly turn to, fly to as a refuge, or try to conciliate, that Power in their own weak ways. Some, like Socrates and Buddha, have uttered thoughts which the world can never let die. The Hebrew Scriptures, though doubtless the grandest repertoires of holy thoughts, and wonderful promises, have not the monopoly of the intercourse of the Great Creator with His poor creatures. The great mass of mankind in their numberless millions, and their centuries of generations, were not left entirely without that hope and guidance which was lavished so freely on the petty, graceless, disobedient, ungrateful, and unworthy Jewish race ; on the other hand, the shafts of cynical atheists, discharged in a less well-informed century, fall far below the level of this high and illustrious topic. We are, indeed, still feeling in the dark for the great truth, but, of the mass of ignorance we may say, in the words of Galileo :—

“ E pur si muove.”

I submit a morphological classification of Religions.

GRAND DIVISIONS :

- I.—NATURE-RELIGIONS.
II.—ETHICAL RELIGIONS.

I.—NATURE-RELIGIONS.

SUBORDINATE DIVISIONS :

(A) *Polydæmonistic magical* Religions under the control of Animism : to this class belong the religions of barbarous races without any culture, but, as we see them, they are only the degraded remains of what they must once have been.

(B) *Purified or organised magical* Religions.

Therianthropic Polytheism : of this class there are two sub-divisions :—

I.

UNORGANISED.

Japanese Kami no madsu, the
old National Religion.
Non-Aryan Religions, in
South and Central India.
Finn and Ehst.
Old Pelasgic.
Old Italic.
Etruscan.
Old Slavonic.

II.

ORGANIZED.

Semi-civilized American :
Maya, Natchez, Aztek,
Muisca, Inca.
Old Chinese.
Old Babylonian.
Egyptian.

(C) Worship of man-like, but superhuman, and semi-ethical beings ;

alias

ANTHROPOMORPHIC POLYTHEISM.

Old Vaidic-Indian.

Old Iranic before Zoroaster.

Later Babylonian and Assyrian.

Semitic. (Phœnicia, Canaan, Aramæan, Sabæan).

Aryan (Keltic, Teutonic, Hellenic, Græco-Roman).

II.—ETHICAL RELIGIONS.

SUBORDINATE DIVISIONS :

(A) *National* nomistic Nomothetic Religions :

Taouism and Confucianism.

Brahmanism.

Jainism.

Zoroastrianism.

Judaism.

(B) *Universalistic* religious communities :

Buddhism

Christianity } after Anno Domini.

Islam

Tiele, 1885 "Ency. Brit.," vol. xx. ; pp. 369 - 370. (Slightly amended).

But of these religious conceptions many are totally dead ; not only have ceased to influence the hearts of men, but have passed out of recollection. The spade of the excavator, the trained genius of the scientific explorer, the careful student of old manuscripts, have revealed to us a wealth of knowledge which escaped the Greek and the Roman inquirers.

I.—DEAD CONCEPTIONS.

I. EGYPTIAN.

II. BABYLONIAN.

III. ASSYRIAN.

IV. GRÆCO-ROMAN.

V. TEUTONIC, KELTIC, SLAVONIC.

VI. SEMITIC.

VII. ETRUSCAN.

And many others.

II.—LIVING CONCEPTIONS.

I. BRAHMANISM.

II. ZOROASTRIANISM.

III. JUDAISM.

IV. BUDDHISM.

V. JAINISM.

VI. CONFUCIANISM.

VII. TAOUISM.

VIII. SHINTOISM

IX. ANIMISM in many different forms, in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America.

Each individual in his childhood found himself gifted with religious conceptions, which came to him somehow, and an instinct of worship, just as with a power of uttering articulate

sounds; his instinct towards his fellow-creatures made him social : his attraction to God made him religious. One marked result of the comparative method is, that the facts on which all religious conceptions agree, are far more numerous than those on which they differ. Up to within half a century it was honestly believed that all divine truth was restricted to the knowledge of the Hebrews : all other religious conceptions of the Ancients were deemed to be ridiculous, immoral, and wicked lies. This was the outcome of gross ignorance of the history of mankind, and an unworthy conception of the infinite Wisdom of the Creator. It does not come within the scope of this paper to discuss the popular theory of a primitive revelation of certain fundamental principles given to mankind in the cradle of their race. But we may fairly ask what race? Can black, brown, red, yellow, and white, already differentiated in the earliest Egyptian monuments, have ever been one race? It cannot be asserted, because it is not susceptible of proof, that all mankind descended from a common pair ; but it is asserted, that all were made in God's Image, and that a sympathy with the Divine was bestowed upon all in different manner, according to His will ; and it does not lie in the mouths of those, who assert, as an article of faith, that all mankind are descended from a common pair, to limit His gracious love to a small fraction who, by their own annals, were sadly deficient in that Divine sympathy. Let us lay this hypothesis reverently aside, as having no foundation on any trustworthy evidence. At any rate the Hebrews to the end of their career denied any race-connection with the Gentiles : according to them they had not the same Divinity, the same customs, the same privileges, the same promises : they were totally, hopelessly, unclean. But there were certain things which, by universal admittance, they all had in common, intellect, power of articulate utterance, and an idea of a Power greater than themselves and outside themselves.

It cannot be said that any one of the ancient religions was more or less conformable to reason, was ethically better or worse, than those of their neighbours. Men walked in scientific darkness as to the phenomena of Nature : they believed that the earth was a flat plain, with heaven in the clouds above, and the place of departed spirits in the bowels of the earth below ; that the sun rose and set, that the moon was appointed to give light at night, that thunder was the voice, and lightning the weapon of the Divinity, that evil spirits could occupy a man and be exorcised by a priest, that coming events could be ascertained by augury, and the offended Deity be appeased, and even *fed*, by sacrifices ; and many other things, not wicked in

themselves, but inaccurate, and entirely unable to survive the dawn of knowledge. Poetic exaggerations and wild imagery, a consciousness that no such thing as criticism existed, were the features and the misfortune of all their sacred books without exception. When sometimes a great moral hero stood up with his eyes wide open, such as Zoroaster, Buddha, or Socrates, the hireling priesthood, which lived upon the old conception and establishment, the scum of the human intellect, and the sweeping of the Divine Altar, fought, branded as an atheist, got rid of by a cup of poison, or ostracism, the man with the new idea, the messenger and teacher sent from God.

As yet it has not been possible to trace back to any one fundamental conception, any innate idea, any common experience, the various ancient religious conceptions; they seem to have grown in their own climatic, ethnic, and social environment; it is unnecessary to say that they had different origins, for they grew like plants in different gardens, at a distance from each other, with no possible inter-communication. Still the expanding conceptions of each age and clime were successive developments of continuous evolution of thought and advance of human intellect. It is obvious that such conceptions as Brahmanism, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism could not possibly have come into existence in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, but Buddhism and Confucianism might do so, and possibly may. We seem to detect at certain periods of time a struggle for survival, as of organisms and opinions: the one that is fittest for the environment and survives, not the fittest in the highest sense of morality, or knowledge of the Divinity, but the fittest for the intelligence of the worshipper. We see the same feature in the South of Europe still: if the form of a religion be degraded, it is because the worshippers are degraded: *Elevate* them intellectually, and their religious capacity rises.

What, then, shall we assume religion to be? It seems to be the reflection of the relation betwixt a worshipping subject and worshipped object, just as a language is the reflection of a relation between a speaking subject and an object spoken to. This implies both distinction and unity. If there were no distinction, there would be no necessity for religion in the one case, or for language in the other; if there were no unity, there would be no intelligence of the message conveyed. With language the message is material, but not so with religion. We may fairly assume for all preceding centuries, what we know to be true for our historical age, that no one has ever seen God, or heard His voice, physically. The religious instinct with which man has been congenitally supplied, bridges

over what would be otherwise an impassable chasm. Special Revelation is claimed at all periods by all mankind, but for the sake of argument I lay it aside. We have to deal with facts, based upon material evidence, that all mankind, in all ages, have deemed themselves to have knowledge of God, and have tried to communicate with Him: and with the growth of intelligence, the desire to do so, and the power to do so, have increased; and it may be added, that even direct revelation would be useless, if man had not faculties to appreciate it, faculties, in which the child, the idiot, and the grossly ignorant savage, are totally deficient. The growth of their faculties, and their evolution, can be measured, and historical investigation has done this work for us. To any observer of the stream of time there cannot be a doubt that there has been, through all the ages, a gradual evolution of language, human culture, and sympathy, with things Divine, which we call religion; with each century a higher and higher type of each one of these human features has made itself manifest.

A few remarks might appropriately be made on each entry in the list given above: but really as regards the first category there is nothing to say. With the exception of the Græco-Roman conception (taking them together for the sake of this argument), none have left footsteps on the sands of time which can help or cheer those who followed after them. The world has done very well without them. No doubt, they occupied, at their appointed time, their place in the great drama, but they were overwhelmed, even those which possessed a vast literature, now made known, in the rising tide of new ideas, and we have not missed them in the sense in which Judaism, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Confucianism would have been missed, had unkind political events buried them out of sight. The very fact of their death and disappearance, without leaving a trace behind them during the succeeding centuries, argues that they were unequal to the position, were not crushed by intolerance, or stamped out by fanaticism, but died from their own weakness.

The Avesta, like the Old Testament, contains much that is of very different dates, strung together fortuitously, and representing the feelings of different centuries: portions often transposed, or attached to that with which it has no connection: often attributed to the wrong author. This need not be cause of surprise, and could not have been possible with a printed book. If some great man, or a succession of great officials, occupying for generations the same office, had left all their manuscript documents in a drawer of the office, and somebody in a later century had edited the whole to the best of his ability, and copied out all the component portions in

his own handwriting, the train of connection of one fragment with the others would have been hopelessly lost, until the time of higher criticism arrived.

In the beautiful Græco-Roman cult, as it existed in the decade preceding the great Anno Domini, we seem to realize the culmination of the religious conceptions of the Ancient World, or at least the Western portion of it, for China and the extreme Orient sat apart, and lived their own intellectual and spiritual life. The very names of Buddha and Kung-Fu-Tzee had, up to that date, not reached Western ears, and the ideas of Indian wisdom were hazy. The great store of religious conceptions which sprang into existence in Babylonia, and Egypt, before the time of Abraham, and in Iran and Assyria, at subsequent dates, had discharged itself into the great estuary of the Græco-Roman nations, entirely tolerant, entirely human, ready to absorb any foreign elements. Such a book as Virgil's "*Æneid*," the creation of that epoch, is the outcome of a lofty and refined religion. Plato and the Athenian dramatists, and Lucretius, and Cicero, left their immortal testimony as to the nature of the religious conceptions of their age: Sacrifice, Prophecy, Augury, Miracles, Theophanies, a World beyond the Grave, the Divine Voice in the Elements of Nature. In the "*Æneid*" alone, instances could be given of all these phenomena, the truth of which was meant to be believed, and was believed, because they represented the prevailing idea of the age, the human anticipation and the Divine possibilities. A great event was nigh at hand: the fourth Eclogue of Virgil reveals the expectation. Of the other dead religions only a faint tradition survived; but the Græco-Roman cult has left indelible traces of its existence in the pagan conceptions and rituals which have clung to the skirts of the new religious conception which succeeded it in Europe, and seem to have a power of endurance which no time will destroy. The taint of the neo-Platonic philosophy, and of the local Italian cults, though beautified under the title of mediæval Church-Order, is a real survival of Paganism and Judaism, as they existed previous to Anno Domini, and is very different from the precepts of the Galilean Teacher, and of Paul, his great interpreter, to the Græco-Latin nations.

With regard to the religious conceptions which still dominate the thought, in some cases of millions, in others of thousands, of the men of the nineteenth century, some more particular notice is required.

Concerning Brahmanism nothing can be more impressive than the deliberate opinion of a great Indian scholar, Bishop Caldwell (South India), in 1874: "I recognise also in

"Hinduism a higher element, an element which I cannot
 "but regard as divine, struggling with what is earthly and
 "evil in it, and frequently overborne, though never entirely
 "destroyed. I trace the operation of this divine element in
 "the religiousness, the habit of seeing God in all things and
 "all things in God, which has formed so marked a character-
 "istic of the people of India during every period of their
 "history. I trace it in the conviction that there is a God,
 "however erroneously His attributes may be conceived, in or
 "through whom all things have their being; in the conviction
 "that a religion is possible, desirable, necessary; in the con-
 "viction that men are somehow separated from God, and
 "need somehow to be united to Him; but especially in the
 "idea, which I have found universally entertained, that a
 "remedy for the ills of life, an explanation of its difficulties
 "and mysteries, and an appointment of a system of means
 "for seeking God's favour, and rising to a higher life, that
 "is, a revelation, is to be expected; nay, more, that such a
 "revelation has been given, the only doubt being as to which
 "of the existing revelations is the true one, or the more
 "directly divine."

Not only was Brahmanism ever tolerant, or superbly regard-
 less, of external religious conceptions, or of internal sects,
 but it was sympathetic to the survivals of Nature-worship
 which dwelt in the villages, or on the flanks of the mountains;
 old shrines were allowed to exist; caste-distinction fenced
 off the ceremoniously unclean, but that was all. It looks as
 if this extreme tolerance had been the chief cause of the
 duration of this cult in ever-increasing numbers, for, in spite
 of itself, Brahmanism is the greatest proselytizing power in
 India; more of the non-Aryan barbarous tribes pass insen-
 sibly year by year into the lower grades of the great Brahman-
 ical horde than all the converts to the other religious con-
 ceptions put together. It is possible to be admitted to be-
 come a Jew, or a Parsi, but not probable; but a process goes
 on of voluntary Brahmanizing of the non-Aryan tribes by a
 natural upward transition: no persuasion or invitation is
 required; no proselytizing in its usually understood sense,
 for they pass like the waters of a stream into a huge reservior
 by their own impetus.

It must not be supposed, during the long, still centuries
 of Brahmanism, the oldest cult that the world has ever known,
 that no efforts have been made to rise into a higher life and
 purer air: on the contrary, the whole religious history of
 India is full of such attempts: a constant struggle for exist-
 ence of a multitude of new, or the evolution of old, concep-
 tions, among which some are of the highest spiritual type.

Spiritually-minded men have from time to time arisen, like prophets, to reveal a new light, crying aloud for a great moral change, stirring the hearts of a great people ; but there has been no continuance ; it has been like the rising of the water, when the snow melts, as fertilizing, and as transitory. It marks, however, the heart's unrest, and the advance of men's consciousness of a great idea, not the dying out of a primeval revelation : it is the Soul of men, moved by the Eternal Spirit to seek out its Creator, the great fountain of its power. Ignorance, vice, carnality, priestcraft, and, in former periods, political violence, and fanatical intolerance, may press down the movement, but, if it finds space, freedom, and intellectual expanse, the same phenomena may be expected ; and the modern sects, Brahmoism and the Arya-Somaj, are infinitely in advance, intellectually and spiritually, of the older sects of Kabír and Baba Nanak.

A vast literature in the lordly language of Sanskrit has by good fortune survived to our age, representing every form of religious and philosophic literature, proving how high the human mind can wind itself by severe introspection, speculation on hidden truths, and a yearning after a higher life. Haughty Time has been just in sparing such gigantic monuments of intellectual power, spread over two thousand years, and transmitted orally from generation to generation until the germs of alphabetic writing were brought from Western Asia, and then developed by Indian grammarians to an extent unparalleled in any other country ; while at the same time carved inscriptions on rocks, boulders, caves, and pillars, indicate the desire of those ancient men to communicate their ideas to after ages, a desire which has been fulfilled.

Very different has been the fate of Zoroastrianism : sprung from the same region as Brahmanism, and clothed in a sister Aryan language, or rather a succession of dialects of the same language, it assumed the name of a great lawgiver, whose date is uncertain. At its zenith it came into contact with Judaism, then in captivity in Babylon. It was the State-religion of Cyrus, and monotheistic, and tolerant, it imparted to Judaism certain religious conceptions. Its influence waned under the Greek and Roman domination of Asia, although it received a new life under a later Native dynasty, but centuries later it was driven out of the region where it had so long ruled, by a new religious conception, intolerant and propagandist : a small number of refugees escaped to India, where their descendants exist, thriving, respectable, intelligent ; through them access has been obtained to their venerable literature, large portions of which, however, have perished. These facts have come like a revelation to

this generation : it is the opinion of competent scholars that Zoroaster lived at an epoch antecedent to Greek Philosophy ; that he was a great and deep thinker, who stood far above the most enlightened men of many subsequent centuries. Both Greek and Roman honoured him for the pre-eminence which he occupied in the history of the human intellect. We owe to this spiritual patriarch so large a portion of our intellectual inheritance, that we can hardly conceive what human belief would have been, had Zoroaster not spoken, or had his utterances not come down to our time. The earliest portions are the Gátha, the original hymns of Zoroaster, and his immediate associates and followers : their date is about 1500 B.C. to 1000 B.C., or possibly older. The remaining parts are of a much later date, at least 300 B.C. : spurious additions occur here and there. In these we find the doctrine, (1) that virtue is its own reward, and vice its own punishment ; (2) that there will be a personal resurrection, and a day of judgment beyond the grave ; (3) the existence of Angels, the personified thoughts of the Ruler of the World sent forth to ennoble, and redeem, His poor creatures.

In treating of the subject of Judaism, we must bear in mind, that for long centuries it had the monopoly in the minds of Europeans of the wisdom of the East, and of the centuries before the great Anno Domini : it has now been reduced to its proper position, as only one of the factors, although a most important factor, in the composition of the dominant religious conception of Europe. In a scientific discussion, Hebrew history and literary monuments must be weighed in the same scales, as those of the other great conceptions which preceded them, and with which they came in contact, *viz.*, the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Semitic, which are dead, and the Zoroastrian, which still survives. An importance, during the centuries of European ignorance, has been attributed to the Hebrews which they never deserved. Compare their tiny geographical area, and few millions of population, with India, or China : had they been geographically adjacent to India, they would never have been heard of : their sovereigns were never more than petty Rajahs, at the mercy of the Sovereign of the Basin of the Nile, or of the Euphrates : Mesopotamia and Egypt teem with memorials of past greatness ; so does the country of the Hittites : only one inscription is attributed to the Hebrews. Neither in arts, nor science, nor power, did they prevail. The Hebrew people never attained power among nations, or numerical influence : they have left behind no great monuments, or inscriptions, though they must have been aware that their neighbours, and occasional rulers, the Egyptians, the Assyrians,

the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, were doing so, even in their own Syrian land on the rocks of the River Adónis. So small is the geographical area assigned to the tribes of the Hebrews, that, when some years ago I stood upon Mount Gerizim, I could take in at one view the Mediterranean, Mount Hermon, the valley of the Jordan, and the mountains which surround the Dead Sea. I was fresh from the annexation of the Panjab, which is merely a province of British India; I had had to assist in dividing this new Province into eighteen manageable Districts, and had an eye for administrative requirements; and to my judgment the whole of the land of the Hebrews would barely make up two good-sized Indian districts: the country never could have supported a larger population than it does now. We thus see, in the category of dead, or surviving, religious conceptions, how comparatively small was the place occupied by the Hebrews: we have seen how it is credibly believed that the Hebrew borrowed somewhat from the Zoroastrian, but not one of the great conceptions before Anno Domini borrowed one idea from the Hebrew, or was even aware of its existence. According to the modern opinion of scientific students, both Jew and Gentile, the Hebrew literature came into existence in the period between the 9th and 5th century before Anno Domini, or even later: up to the 9th century the Hebrew was a monolatrist rather than a monotheist, for he seemed to admit the existence of other gods for other tribes, which no monotheist would admit for a moment: the linguistic vehicle of ideas, which the Hebrew writers had to make use of, was greatly inferior in capacity and symmetry to the wonderful forms of speech available to the Indian sages, and the Greek and Roman writers. No moral condemnation can be severer than that which their own Prophets poured upon the Hebrews. Finally, we have it from an authority which no one would willingly dispute, that, at the time of the Anno Domini, the spirituality of the Hebrew conception had all but disappeared, weighed down by empty ritual, and excessive self-conceit. No one can assert, that He who appeared at the time of the great Anno Domini, the Divine Wisdom, who had assisted in the Creation of the World, was ignorant of the existence of all these great religious conceptions, and of the fact that man had worshipped Him for centuries, feeling after God. We are bound to let our appreciation of divine things expand with our widening knowledge of God's dealings in times past. We were told that we should know hereafter, and we believe, in reverence, that a fuller consciousness has already been conceded.

It has been the great misfortune of Europe, that for seventeen centuries it had but one type presented to it of an ancient

religion which had lived its life before Anno Domini: one only volume was available in a Greek translation to the neo-Christians of an Asiatic conception of the relation betwixt God and man: Athenian philosophy had utterly destroyed the Græco-Roman conceptions, and mythology: the wisdom of Egypt was buried in its tombs, and of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Syria under the ruins of destroyed cities. In the time of Adrian, the Euphrates had become the limit, not only of the Empire, but of the historical and geographical knowledge of the Romans. Of the religious conceptions of Persia, except in the travestied form of Mithraism, of the utterances of the sages of India and China, they knew nothing. The volume of the Hebrews attributed to themselves not only God's *special*, but God's *sole* favour and guidance. The untold millions of Eastern Asia were ignored, out of deference to the assertions of a petty tribe of a few millions, unwarlike, ignorant of the science even of that age, by their own admission very disobedient to the laws of their own lawgivers, and the commands of their own Deity: a slave-nation, which had passed from the domination of the Egyptians into that of the Philistines, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans, leaving behind nothing but the library of thirty-nine books written in a language which had been even then dead for 500 years, and in a form of written character peculiar to itself, and adopted by no other nation. These books expose the utter weakness of their national character, the faultiness of their very idea of worship; for, following the example of the most degraded nations, they dishonoured the sacred body of man, made perfect by the hand of the Creator, by mutilation, a practice which the noble races of Europe, Persia, India and the extreme Orient would have scorned, and they rivalled their Gentile neighbours in placing their whole idea of worship in the slaughtering of dumb animals.

The eighth chapter of the Prophet Ezekiel, written about a century before the birth of Socrates, marks the existence, even after the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, of the most degraded possible form of worship, of creeping things, abominable beasts, and idols, portrayed on the walls, and therefore a deliberate worship: women weeping for Tammuz, and men worshipping the Sun. According to the notion of the Hebrew writers, and of many of later centuries, it was assumed that those who did not worship Jehovah, worshipped idols made by men's hands; that there was no *via media* of worshipping the Great God of the Universe in any other way, and under another name. King Cyrus was not an idolater: he worshipped one God, and identified Him with the God of the Hebrews: Was

he far wrong? Even in the books of Brahmanism there is always present the thought of the great Unrepresentable Deity, as well-described in a Sanskrit Poem :—

“ Though of Thy might before man’s wondering eyes,
 “ The Earth, the Universe, in witness, rise,
 “ Still by no human skill, no mortal mind,
 “ Can Thy Infinity be e’er defined.”

With Buddhism we enter on a new religious epoch : the origin of the three former conceptions, Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, and Judaism, is shrouded in the dim uncertainty of the early centuries. Buddha was a contemporary, or nearly so, of Socrates : there was, about that period, a birth of intellectual giants, Socrates, and Pythagoras, Buddha, Kung-Fu-Tzee, and Laou-tzee : a period of transition had arrived. It must be recollected, that this religious conception is based upon the accumulated wisdom and speculation of Brahmanism. The story of the great sage is well-known, well-called “ The Light of Asia,” and so is the nature of his doctrines. Religion ceased now to be national, and became universal, and propagandist. By the irony of fate this conception was exiled from India, the place of its birth, and spread among non-Aryan races of Central and Eastern Asia : it has produced an enormous literature in several languages and dialects. Toleration is the very law of its life, and the followers of the two other propagandist religions of the world must admit in shame, that this tolerant and passive form of belief has at this day a larger number of nominal adherents, than their sword and their torture-chamber, their stake, and their civil disabilities, and confiscation of property, have been able to attain. On the other hand, deep degradation has accompanied its course. Agnosticism does not satisfy the craving of the human heart, especially in races of a low culture, and the Great Teacher has himself been elevated to the Throne which he had declared to be vacant : the humblest, meekest, and most self-subdued, of men has been converted into an object of worship, while round his gigantic statues a deep mist of pagan conceptions has collected.

A very competent authority writes, that, whatever may be the similarities in the Pali Buddhistic writings of an early date and the New Testament, there is not the slightest evidence, or reasonable probability, of any historical connection between them : if there be a resemblance, it is not due to any borrowing on the one side or the other, but solely to the similarity of the conditions, under which the two movements grew in an Asiatic people ; and, I may add, from that identity of thought and practice in the Genus Homo which is illustrated by the list of identical erroneous practices in all the early nations before

the great Anno Domini, when a new epoch was opened, and what was thought right and necessary, and expedient, and unavoidable, in the old environment, was proved to be merely old women's tales. Only imagine a European sovereign consulting an ephod, or asking the opinion of a soothsayer, or examining the entrails of an animal, before an expedition was settled upon.

Sometimes Jainism is mixed up with Buddhism, and sometimes blended with Brahmanism, from which it issued : it seems more convenient to treat it separately. Contemporary with the other great and wise men already named was Párasnath, the founder of the Jaina ascetics : the word means "Conqueror of lusts and desires." Two centuries later lived Mahavíra, who gave the conception, and the Brotherhood, its ultimate form : he, like Buddha, was of the royal caste : they both represented a rebellion against priestcraft and the Brahmins. In several features Jainism differs from Buddhism : it has never left India, and is still a *quasi*-sect. It has a form of worship : ineffable bliss is the goal of Jainism, not Nirvana : both lay stress on morality, charity, purity, patience, courage, contemplation, knowledge : both get rid of caste, and are atheistic. The Jaina number one-and-a-half million : they enjoin mercy to all animated beings, and place a cloth over their mouths to save the lives of insects : they have a considerable literature, and an order of priesthood.

The great religious conception of China is too well known to require much notice. It partakes more of the character of a social moral code than of a theology : the Emperor is the pinnacle of the edifice, the structure of which is for this world only. Kung-Fu-Tzee does not pretend to be a legislator, but a careful collector and codifier of existing precepts, which date back to a remote past. The literature is very extensive. Ancestral worship is a great feature : there is no Future, Purgatory, or Hell. The great founder never claimed to be more than a man ; but he felt that he had a superhuman mission. Goodness and happiness in this world was the object of his teaching : he died uttering no prayer, and evincing no apprehension : he was one of the greatest of men.

Taouism, the founder of which was Laou-tzee, a contemporary of Kung-Fu-Tzee, appears to have undergone a great degradation, for it is described to be at present a base and abject superstition, a foolish idolatry with an ignorant priesthood, commanding the respect of no one ; but at the epoch which is the subject of this paper, it is spoken of as a pure and lofty philosophy, a Road, and a Way, and the Right Path, in which men ought to go. Taou means Nature, and Taouism the philosophy of Nature.

The ancient cult of Japan is called Shinto: it is entirely national, and since 1868 has been the religion of the State: it is to a certain extent combined with Buddhism, which was introduced from China. Shinto is bound up with the social and political history of the nation.

It is a comfort to think, that none of the elder religious conceptions of the world were intolerant, or propagandist by the arm of the flesh, or were possessed with that evil and aggressive spirit which became the feature of the conceptions dating after the Anno Domini. They were national; and a victorious Sovereign attributed to his patron-Deity, whether Ashur, or Amen Ra, or Krishna, his victories: but neither was the conquering religion forced upon the conquered people, nor were the tribes who were deported by the conquerors into new localities, compelled to adopt the beliefs, or conform to the worship of their neighbours. The Hebrews were for several generations captive in Egypt, and for two generations captive in Babylonia, but their religion was not interfered with. The toleration of the Roman and Greek rulers may have been cynical indifference; or a superb contempt of any other religious conception but their own. It may be that a certain amount of healthy persecution raises up a stubborn resistance, and gives a new life to beliefs and practices which before were quietly dying out from being left alone; and this remark applies particularly to those religious conceptions that have not in them the power of expansion, and adaptation to the advancing age, for in truth religious conceptions, like all other things that are human, have their term of life assigned. Some, when they die, may have the germs of life transmitted to a younger kindred faith, though notably the Brahmanical and Jewish conceptions have lived on a long life after giving birth to new conceptions more powerful than themselves.

It raises a smile to remark that each nation, and the votaries of each religious conception, in good faith considered that they made up the Universe, and that God cared for them *only*. This was a notable characteristic of the Hebrews: the Greeks may have superbly classed outsiders as *βάρβαροι*, but the Asiatic nations applied to all others but themselves terms of reproach, such as "mletcha," "goi," "foreign devils," "accursed;" some went so far as to call themselves by the term "Men," "the men in particular." By a mere chance, and owing to the ignorance of Europe of the Asiatic world, the Hebrew phraseology, which was valued at its own worth by contemporary races, who used similar expressions, was taken by people, who lived centuries later, "au pied de lettre," and even as divinely inspired. Even still we read the phrase "all the world" applied to Syria by the Jews, and to the old Roman

Empire by the Romans, forgetting that India and the extreme Orient, which made up a moiety of the population of the Globe, sat apart, though they were far superior to any other nations in the history of mankind, until the great nations of Europe came into existence after the Anno Domini, superior in art, science, power, and population.

It is unwise to contract all possibilities of divine knowledge to one nation in antiquity, and that a very small one. This seems to be casting dishonour on the Ruler of the Universe. If doing so be the result of non-study of the subject, it may be called ignorance; if it be done in spite of conscientious study, it appears to be like a pious fraud. It looks, as if the Divine Power which created and ruled the World, was pleased to reveal some of His most important truths to the followers of different religious conceptions. How the exclusion of so large a part of a great subject narrows the field of view of later writers! If Augustine of Hippo had had on his table a copy of the Tripitika, of the Bhágavad-Gita, of the Shu-King, and of the Yasna, he might have expressed himself differently.

The whole intellectual atmosphere has changed, and the childish conceptions of a credulous and ignorant age will not stand the strong light of modern discussion: we have only to imagine a Jew sacrificing an animal in a London synagogue: if an educated Hindu at one of the State-Colleges were asked by a Mahometan, or a Christian friend to describe the belief and ritual of his family, he would fairly break down, and be ashamed to talk about his family-worship. If an English Jew at a public school were pressed on the subject of his circumcision, he would feel as ashamed as an educated African would be of his tattoo-marks, or a Polynesian who had had his teeth drawn in his childhood. The mutilation, or disfigurement of the body marks the low-water mark of religious degradation.

It is interesting to consider the different classes into which the religious conceptions may be divided with reference to their salient features, or the characteristics of their adherents. Poor weak mortality is certain to fall into excess on one side or the other. We find some good people, like the Jaina, who would not kill a fly even by chance: others have in times past offered human sacrifices: some have no Deities to make offering to: some have a plurality of objects of worship: some do not pray at all, having nothing to ask, and no Deity to ask it of: some arrange that the flowing stream should turn round a wheel of meaningless prayer: others pay hireling priests to do the work for them in unintelligible sing-song ritual. It is the fashion, as stated above, to call all the ancient religions of the world, save the Hebrew, idolatrous; but this is not true for some, and it was not so for many more in their inception.

The Brahmanical, and Græco-Roman systems were always so ; the Zoroastrian never was idolatrous, and the few survivors to this day are not so ; Buddhism and Confucianism were not so in starting, but in their deep degradation, they have fallen to that low level. Some have domineering priesthoods like the Brahmans and the Jewish priests ; some have none.

To some the idea of proselytizing never occurred, and any idea of forcible proselytism, by intolerance, or imposing disabilities, was, in ancient days, rare. We find these subdivisions :—

- I. Where Proselytism is involuntary, as in the case with Brahmanism, which admits annually hundreds of the lower non-Aryan tribes into its fold, as it were, unconsciously.
- II. Where Proselytism is permissive. Judaism did admit proselytes in a regular way, and does so still.
- III. Where Proselytism is a duty and obligation, either by argument, or the arm of the flesh. Buddhism and Jainism represent the former of the two alternatives. Judaism during its last decade compelled the conquered tribes of Edom, Ammon and Moab to be circumcised.

Another variety is the nature of the Religious Belief :—

- I. Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism, and Judaism were natural systems, with a formula of faith, a fixed ritual, and sacred books.
- II. Confucianism was merely a code of social and political morality.
- III. Towards the close of the Græco-Roman system, philosophy, taught in schools, was taking the place of ritual or belief.
- IV. Buddhism was simply atheism.

Another division may be made as follows :—

- I. Positive Religions, based on the teaching of particular individuals, who deliberately departed from a traditional past, such as Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism : in some cases the teacher only codified and re-arranged existing conceptions, such as Confucianism, Taouism.
- II. Traditional Religions, which cannot be traced back to individual founders, and were not propagated by individual authority, as they formed part of the unconscious inheritance of the past.

The Positive Religions of the ancient world did not make their appearance, like a new idea, but they were rather organized developments of a pre-existing religion : old religious instincts had to be appealed to ; even old forms, transmuted and re-named, had to be adopted. A Positive Religion will not be fully understood until the traditional religion which

preceded it, has been studied, as far as materials for study survive. There is some analogy in language: some languages have died absolutely sterile, and so have some religious conceptions. The Egyptian religion and language present a case in point. Some languages have given birth to new languages.

A common feature is found in these early conceptions: they had no creed: they consisted entirely of institutions, and practices. Ritual was the sum-total of such religions, part of their social life, to which each member of the community conformed, as he would do to any other social habit. Men took their religion, just as their form of Government, for granted: they were neither bound to understand, nor did they dare to criticize. They had no choice in the selection, and no will to change: it was part of their outfit in life. As time went on from generation to generation, there were changes in the environment, social habits, language, and religious conception, and they were, without murmuring, conformed to, until the end came.

Another feature soon forces itself upon notice. Religion did not exist for the saving of individual souls, for purifying individual hearts, or making the worshipper more fit for the final change: it existed solely for the preservation, and welfare, of society: it was allied to patriotism, chauvinism, struggles for civil independence, and battles "pro aris et focis." One nation was not in the least degree jealous of, or hostile to, the gods of another nation, so long as they did not interfere with each other. No gods were deemed to be all-powerful and ubiquitous: they had to attend to their own worshippers, to whose families they belonged, and who fed and kept them. Even when one religion appeared with a loftier conception, the existence of other gods was not denied.

Certain features appear in all religious conceptions: some in one; some in another; some in all; some at one period of their existence; some at another; varying in their details and nomenclature, but substantially the same. They are as follows:—

- I. Anthropomorphism of the Deity, Polytheism.
- II. Residence of the Deity in the midst of his worshippers
- III. Theophanies, Visions, Good and Evil Spirits.
- IV. Primeval worship of Animals, Heroes, Totems, and Fetish.
- V. Ancestral, Domestic, National Worship.
- VI. Shrines, Relics, Pilgrimages.
- VII. Sacrifices: Animal, Vegetable, Human.
- VIII. Formal Prayer: oral, by deputy, or by machinery.

- IX. Empty Ritual : Bells, Music, Dancing, Processions, Incense.
- X. Priestcraft, Sacerdotalism, Usurpation of Power.
- XI. Ceremonial Cleanness, or Uncleanness.
- XII. Fasting, Celibacy, Asceticism, Eremitism.
- XIII. Days of Rest, Feasts.
- XIV. Esoteric, and Exoteric Doctrine.
- XV. Miracles : Beneficent, Malevolent.
- XVI. Dreams, Auguries, Predictions, Ordeals.
- XVII. National Sins, Hostility of Deities.
- XVIII. Signs from Heaven.
- XIX. Witchcraft : possession by Evil Spirits.
- XX. Different modes of disposing of dead.
- XXI. Notions of Eschatology and Judgment after death.
- XXII. Mutilation of body, tattoo-marks, caste-marks, circumcision.
- XXIII. Abominable customs.
- XXIV. Conception of Fate, Divine vengeance.
- XXV. Records written on various materials, stones carved in relief.
- XXVI. Tradition.
- XXVII. Sanctitude of certain offices, secular and religious.
- XXVIII. Necessity of Good Works.
- XXIX. Absence of Spirituality.
- XXX. Religious Architecture, Sculpture, Literature, Monuments.

CONCLUSION.

Emerson remarks that the systematic translation of the sacred books of the East would play a part in the reorganization of religious thought, which is marked by a desire to soften the lines of demarkation, to recognize in all religions the elements of truth, and to assign to each *its own position* in the education of the human mind.

We can trace in history this great fact, that a portion of the primeval inheritance, intellectual and spiritual, of mankind, of whatever race, physical conformation, or colour, language or culture, was committed to different contemporary, or, succeeding nations. In every attempt to enlarge the faculties, utilize the resources, or enlarge the ideas, the religious sense must have a share, and a leading share. It is difficult to imagine how the progress of human life can be measured except by the birth, development, decay and disappearance of religious conceptions. To language, and to religion, a limitation seems to be imposed, as to the trees of a forest ; in due course they must give away to more

vigorous successors, but both language and religion leave their mark : there is no retrogression in this struggle : an advance must be made, and both these special outfits of man to enable him to carry on his intercourse with the world in the former case, and with the Ruler of the universe in the latter, must be up to the level of contemporary human development.

Writing with philosophical boldness, free from all sentimental pre-conceptions, and the narrow fetters of the Schoolmen, on a question open to discussion on sure historical evidence, I cannot but feel, that all these phenomena were messages to the human races, black, brown, red, yellow and white, creatures differentiated from the brute creatures by standing upright (*ἄνθρωπος*) and the gift of articulate speech (*λάλος*), or in other words that they were different representative aspects of Self, the World, and God. They evidence the aspirations and wants of the Genus Homo, voiced by some of the great moral heroes, who appeared at intervals, and uttered words which were never forgotten, regarding ourselves, our neighbours, our God. In former centuries we were imperfectly supplied with facts. We were over-credulous on one side, and unduly doubtful on the other. We now see clearly, that through all the ages one increasing purpose runs ; that God was present, working with man, at all periods of his existence : here a little, there a little, but always a step in advance. As the varying features which appear in all religions, tell us that we are all men and brothers, however physically differentiated, so the continuous existence of the same silent, yet unchanging, purpose brings home the conviction, that we are all of the same clay in the hands of the same Potter, being trained, that we may haply be deemed worthy to be called the sons of God.

Is there no alternative ? There are two : I must really dismiss the first, *viz.*, that all the races of mankind before Anno Domini passed over the mortal stage into everlasting torment, according to the complacent suggestion of the Hebrew Psalmist, ix. 17 : "The wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all the nations that forget God." There may be some who, in a general way, hold these views still. No hard words are admissible in this paper, so I am silent.

The second view is held by 'good, benevolent, but ignorant men, that somehow or other the great nations of antiquity did get along, did found empires, build temples, put up inscriptions which survive to our time, painted or carved in relief pictures which we can see, wrote documents which through a succession of copies have come down to our time, and are intelligible. These predecessors of ours in the dominion of the world clearly were great, powerful, and learned, were able to pile up pyramids in one country, carve temples out of rocks

in another, and their tablets and inscriptions bear witness to the fact that they wished their memory to live to after ages. As we walk down the museum, and contemplate these interesting pictures, or inspect their stone, brick, papyrus, or parchment documents, we are struck that they all seem to have been actuated by the same or similar feelings, very much akin, if not identical, and what we moderns call a religious feeling; they all were what Paul at Athens called "*δεισιδαίμονες*:" Kings are portrayed as worshipping a power greater than themselves, thanking it for their victories and their wealth, supplicating its protection. Again the still small voice is heard in inscriptions on rocks in languages, and written characters only painfully deciphered in modern times, preaching love to fellow-creatures, mercy to man and beast, tolerance on subjects of religion. We recognize that these far-off predecessors of ours were men, men in spite of all the difference of time, locality and environment, hoping, desiring, fearing, asking for, the same things, and of the same ineffable Person. Are we to believe that the Ruler of Mankind, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, so full of kindness, and mercy, and love to all His poor creatures, cared nothing for these untold millions, these uncircumcised Gentiles, left them alone to their devices, that His Holy Spirit did not speak to their consciences, did not respond to their prayers, and that He reserved all His love for the few sheep of the Hebrew race until the great Anno Domini, after which date He began to care for all his poor children, without distinction of colour or race. We are told distinctly that He loved the world from the beginning.

God's wheels grind slowly, but very fine. Does not the slow development of religious conceptions give us an idea of the inexhaustible patience, and long-suffering of the Ruler of the Universe? now in one direction, now in another: failures, as well as successes: exhibition of the loftiest intellectual powers in conception, and the most abject degradation in practice. If man could have by himself trampled over the weakness inherent in his nature, Buddha would have done so. If respect for ancestors and social duties were sufficient for salvation, Kung-Fu-Tzee has elaborated such a system, which has lasted nearly 3,000 years. If Heaven could be taken by violence, the composer of the Bhágavad-Gita, the Θεσπέσιον μέλος, the Divinum Carmen of the Sánkhyā School, though his name has not come down to us, might have been admitted. If not a sparrow falls and is forgotten before God, we may humbly think that Socrates, son of Sophoniscus, did not nobly live, and nobly die, without filling up some part of the Divine Plan, as an example to future ages. Those ancient sages, who were led on by the Πνεῦμα that was in them, to elaborate

the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Brahmanical systems (before Abraham was, they were), were not children building card-houses, or constructing edifices on the sand, which the next flood would sweep away. The human Empires, of which they formed a part, have long since been destroyed, and are all but forgotten, but their conceptions, whether committed to papyrus and buried in a tomb, or entrusted to baked bricks, or carved on stone, or handed down by a succession of repeaters by memory, until the time came when an alphabetic system enabled them to be written on perishable parchments, or the talipat leaf, will live on for ever. They were seekers after God, if haply they could find Him, and the Holy Spirit spoke to their consciences, dividing the good from the evil, realizing the burning words of a poet who lived and died before the great Anno Domini :—

Confringere ut arcta
 Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.
 Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
 Processit longe flammantia mœnia Mundi,
 Atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque.
—*Lucretius*, I. 73.

ART. VI.—THE GERMAN CODE OF JUDICIAL ORGANISATION.

(Independent Section.)

(Continued from October 1894, No. 198.)

PUBLICITY OF THE TRIAL AND PRESERVATION OF ORDER.

THE trial is public ; but in cases relating to marriage (*ehesachen*) the doors can be closed on the demand of either party. In all cases the Court can order that the trial shall take place wholly or partly with closed doors, if publicity is calculated to be dangerous to public order or morality. In the statement of "Objects and Reasons" the offence of false coin is mentioned as one the public trial of which would be dangerous to public order. In all cases the judgment must be pronounced in public (Art. 174). The project of the law allowed the judgment also to be pronounced with closed doors ; it was considered that the publicity of the judgment in crimes against morality would not only harm the reputation of the victim, but offend public modesty by its narration of necessary details. However, these considerations did not appear to Parliament to be strong enough to suppress the guarantee of publicity.

Access to the Court may be forbidden to children, persons not in the enjoyment of civic rights, or coming in a state not befitting the dignity of a Court of Justice. Under the last category have been held to fall persons in a state of intoxication, or indecently dressed, or accompanied by animals. The President may authorise the presence of certain persons during a trial with closed doors. But even advocates (when not engaged in the case) have no right to appear.

What is known as the "police" of the sitting, that is, the preservation of order, is in the hands of the President. He can expel, and even confine for 24 hours, any person causing interruption or disturbance, whether by noise, insult, marks of approbation or disapprobation, &c. If necessary, he can also impose a sentence of 100 marks' fine or three days' imprisonment (without prejudice to a criminal prosecution). Advocates not engaged in the case are subject to these provisions ; if engaged in the case, they can be fined 100 marks, but cannot be expelled from the Court. If they persist in a defiant or insulting attitude, the President may inflict the fine several times, and as a last resort, can stop the trial. In this case the costs of the postponement are borne by the offending

advocate.* All these orders are forthwith executed. Judges making inquiries, *Juges d'instruction* and Judges of the Bailiwick sitting alone have the same powers. It was proposed to give the Court similar powers over the Public Prosecutor engaged in the case, but the proposal was not adopted. The Public Prosecution Department is independent; he does not occupy an inferior situation, but has a co-ordinate (*koordinirt*) authority with the Court; if he offends, he can be punished only by his departmental superiors.

The judicial language is German, though there are many different foreign languages in use in the German Empire,—Bohemian, Danish, French, Lithuanian, Polish, Wallon and Wende. If the parties do not understand German, an interpreter is appointed, who takes an oath to translate faithfully and conscientiously.†

Judges, Assessors and Juries are bound to keep their deliberations and votes secret. If Judges violate this rule, they expose themselves to disciplinary punishments.

The judicial year corresponds with the calendar year. There is one vacation, lasting from the 15th July to the 15th August, with a few recognized holidays, such as Christmas and Easter Monday.‡ Vacation Benches sit to dispose of criminal cases, and certain other urgent cases. Moreover, execution and bankruptcy proceedings are not suspended.

CONCILIATION AUTHORITIES.

Besides the ordinary Courts, there is a special institution which the Code has not organised, but which is found in the judicial law of all the confederated States, and which often plays an important part in the administration of justice, namely, the authorities of conciliation (*Vergleichs behörde*).

The conciliation procedure, as an *obligatory* preliminary to the institution of an action, does not exist in German law in civil matters. Art. 471 of the Code of Civil Procedure merely *permits* the claimant to call his adversary to an arbitration before the Judge of the Bailiwick. But such arbitration is rare and difficult; the Judge being often too far from the parties and too much above them in rank and situation. On the other hand, by a happy innovation, Art. 420 of the Code of Criminal Procedure introduces arbitration in criminal matters, and

* Code Crim. Proc., Art 145; Code Civ. Proc., Art. 97.

† Perjury on the part of an interpreter is punishable with a maximum of ten years' imprisonment with hard labour.—Arts. 153-158, Penal Code.

‡ This is a striking contrast to the long holidays enjoyed by the High Courts and Civil Courts in India. Considering that the Executive Service is notoriously harder worked than the Civil Courts, it is very anomalous that they should have fewer holidays.

makes it obligatory in cases of hurt and slander, which are prosecuted at the instance of a civil party. In these cases an attempt at amicable settlement *must* precede the citation before the Court of Assessors.

All the States have instituted an authority, specially charged with amicable settlement: some for criminal matters only, others for civil as well. This authority is called arbiter (*schiedemann*) in Prussia and six other States; in Saxony and few other States he is known as Judge of the Peace (*Friedensrichter*). In the other States, an administrative or judicial officer is charged with this duty.

The conciliation officer is everywhere in close *rapprochement* with the people, his functions are gratuitous, and no costs are incurred; this is in all States the indispensable condition of the efficacy of his intervention. An auxiliary of justice in each commune, known by the residents and chosen by them, the arbiter, performing an act of disinterested duty, has a great personal influence, and his authority, superior to that of the Judge, can to a great extent diminish litigation and ensure reconciliation.* A register of conciliations is kept; the parties must appear in person, and the party who does not appear in a civil matter can be fined from 50 pfennigs to a mark. In criminal matters, the accused, who does not appear, is presumed to be unwilling to settle, and the complainant is given a certificate of non-conciliation. There are no costs, but a minimum fee of 25 pfennigs (at 10 pfennigs a paper) is taken to cover the actual costs of the procedure. There is one arbiter, at least, in each commune, and two or more in large communes, according to population. They are generally selected by the Municipal Committee, or Mayor, and in most States the selection must be approved by the President, or the Presidium of the District Court. Every citizen, domiciled in the commune, and over 30 years of age, is eligible to act as arbiter. The function is honorific, and cannot be refused, except by persons over 60 years of age, or for some valid excuse accepted by the Municipal Committee. A person who refuses can be deprived of his eligibility for Municipal posts for a period of from three to six years; and in Prussia he can also be made to pay from 12½ to 25 per cent. more than the ordinary communal taxes. Before entering on their duties, the arbiters take an oath before the Judge of the Bailiwick. They can be suspended from their functions by the District Court. The arbiter sends to the Judge of the Bailiwick at the commencement of each year a statement

* Collectors and Sub-divisional Officers in India often play the part of conciliation officers. That their efforts are not more often successful, is due, *inter alia*, to the unreasoning jealousy of the Civil Service, and to the fact that their success would take bread out of the mouths of the lawyers.

showing the number of conciliations effected during the preceding year. The Judge of the Bailiwick forwards these statements to the President of the District Court, who in his turn transmits all such statements for his jurisdiction to the First President of the Superior Court.

During the year 1883 there were in Prussia 17,992 arbiters ; 66,438 civil and 206,000 criminal matters were taken before them, and they managed to effect a settlement or conciliation in 38,132 and 80,318 cases, respectively ; that is, in 57 per cent. of civil cases, and 38 per cent. of criminal cases. Each arbiter settled on an average 3.75 civil matters and 11.50 criminal matters.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC PROSECUTORS.*

There is a Public Prosecution Office attached to every Court. Its officers, as in France, are the agents of the executive Power and the representatives of the State ; they are immediately under the Government. The Prosecutor attached to a Superior or District Court is called *Staatsanwalt* ; if attached to a Court of the Bailiwick, he is called *amtsanwalt* (Art. 143). The Minister of Justice is the Supreme Head of the Department.

Only officers, who have the judicial capacity required for Judges, can be attached as Public Prosecutors to the Court of the Empire, the Superior Courts and to the District Courts. All Prosecutors are subject to the control and direction of their immediate official chief, and must take action under his orders. The rule of ancient French law "*si la plume est servée, la parole est libre*," has not penetrated into German law. An amendment had proposed to give prosecutors independence at the hearing, but it was rejected, and the principle of absolute dependence affirmed (Art. 147). Those who advocated the amendment admitted that it could not be left to any subordinate member of the Department to decide whether the public action should be instituted, and that the Head of the Department should have the final say, but they urged that the case might assume a new phase at the trial, and the Prosecutor in Court should then consult only his conviction and his conscience, and it would be scandalous to make him support conclusions in which he could not agree. On the other hand, it was argued that grave questions of law could not be left to the varying opinions of members of the Bar (department) ; the personal conviction of the Prosecutor was already sacrificed when he was ordered by his chief to prosecute against his own recommendation, and such sacrifice was necessary to secure the unity and strength of the public action ; the Prosecutor might

* *Staatsanwaltschaft* ; *Ministère Public*.

modify the instructions received, if the evidence at the trial justified his doing so.

The Prosecutor at the Bailiwick Court is generally a Police or administrative officer, and no particular condition of capacity is ordinarily required ; but in some States he must have passed the first judicial examination.

The State Prosecutors are not Magistrates ; they are not immoveable. It was considered dangerous, while arming them with the public action, to give them absolute independence, and so in a manner place them above the State whose agents they are. It is essential to be able to take away from them, in case of necessity, the formidable power confided to them. They are, however, not liable to arbitrary dismissal, having exactly the same rights and guarantees as State officials. If they are deprived of their functions, they continue to draw a certain proportion of their salary, varying in different States.

The duties of Public Prosecutors are almost entirely confined to criminal justice. They exercise their functions throughout the resort of the Court to which they are attached. The Prosecutor attached to the District Court is the principal representative of the Department. He is assisted, in the exercise of his functions, by a judicial police, who are bound to obey his orders. They consist of Police Commissaries and Inspectors, Mayors, gendarmes, fishery and forest guards, the Prosecutors of the Bailiwick in cases not within the competence of the Courts of assessors, bailiffs in case of domiciliary visits, arrest, &c.

The Prosecutor attached to the Court of the Empire is termed the Superior Prosecutor of the Empire (*Oberreichsanwalt*). He institutes the public action in cases triable by the Court of the Empire in its original jurisdiction, that is to say, in cases of treason. He also decides conflicts of competence arising between the Bars of the different States. If he is compelled to retire from his post, he retains three-fourths of his active salary (Arts. 148-150).

ADVOCATES AND ATTORNEYS.

The draft of the Code of Judicial Organisation had contained a title dealing with advocates, but it was withdrawn in Parliament. The German Bar is regulated by the Federal Law of the 1st July, 1878.

The German barrister is both attorney and advocate (*Rechtsanwalt*). The two professions, distinct in England and France, are united in Germany. Before the Court of the Bailiwick there is no particular procedure, and the parties appear in person ; but in the District and Superior Courts they must be represented by advocates. They can act as attorneys only in the Courts in which they are enrolled ; as advocates they can

plead in all Courts. The Federal Law of the 7th July, 1879, fixes their fees and honoraria.

The conditions of admission to the Bar are exactly the same as those required for the Magistracy. The advocate must pass the same examinations and undergo the same course of training. Admission is granted by the Minister of Justice, or by the Superior Judicial Administration, on the report of the Council of the Order of Advocates. Admission must be refused in certain cases, among them being the exercise of a profession incompatible with the functions or dignity of an advocate, bad conduct, physical or intellectual infirmities. It *can* be refused if the candidate does not ask for admission within three years from the date of his passing the last examination, if he has been previously excluded for a time from the exercise of the public functions, or if he has, as an advocate, in the two last years of his probation, incurred a reprimand or been sentenced to a disciplinary fine of more than 150 marks.

The Bar is free, but at the same time it is localised. Enrolment in a particular Court can only be refused if the applicant is related to one of the Judges of the Court in a direct line, or up to the second degree in the collateral line.* The advocate has to take an oath publicly in the Court in which he is enrolled. There is not, as in France, a distinct Bar for each Court. The advocates enrolled in all the Courts within the resort of a Superior Court form a single order, or "Chamber of Advocates" (*Anwalts kammer*), and consequently the number of Bars is equal to that of the Superior Courts. There are 28 for the whole of Germany.

The advocates of each Bar elect for four years a Council (*Vorstand*) of from 9 to 15 members. This Council is charged with the administration and supervision of the Order of Advocates and Discipline. Its decisions are appealable to the Superior Court. The advocate, who fails in his duties, is prosecuted in a disciplinary manner. The Disciplinary Court is composed of five members: the President, the Vice-President and three members of the Council chosen by the entire Council. The Senior Government Prosecutor prosecutes; but the proceedings are not public. The punishments are warning, reprimand, fine up to 3,000 marks, and suspension. Review is carried before the Superior Court, and an appeal lies to the Disciplinary Court (*Ehrengerichts hof*), which is composed of the First President, and of three Judges of the Court of the Empire, chosen by the Presidium, and of three advocates

* The French law of the 30th August, 1853, attains the same end in a different way. It declares null every decision passed by a Judge who is related to the advocate up to the 3rd degree.

attached to the Court of the Empire, chosen each year by the Bar of such Court. These rules are also applicable to advocates practising before the Court of the Empire. These do not form an open Bar ; admission is granted by the Presidium of the Court, who may refuse it.

There are 4,393 advocates in Germany : 20 are attached to the Court of the Empire, 718 are enrolled in the Superior Courts, 3,722 in the District Courts, and 463 in the Bailiwick Courts. Of this number 530 are enrolled both before a Superior and a District Court. There is one advocate for every 10,417 of the population, the ratio varying from 1 for 3,178 inhabitants in Lubeck to 1 for 26,111 in Alsace. The ratio in Prussia is 1 for 12,211 inhabitants.

The number of advocates attached to each Bar varies from 16 in Oldenburg to 369 in Berlin and 516 in Dresden. Of the 1,914 Bailiwick Courts, 907 have advocates, and the remainder none.

CLERKS.

There is a Bench Clerk Department (*Gerichtsschreiberei*) attached to each Court with Bench Clerks (*Gerichtsschreiber*) and other inferior officers to assist the Judges. The functions of the clerks, and the part they play in the judicial mechanism, are laid down in the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure.

In all Courts, civil as well as criminal, the clerk is the witness of justice ; he must be present at all the various and numerous acts of judicial life, and duly enter them on the record. He assists at the hearing, prepares a memorandum of the course of the trial, records the incidents which occur, the depositions, and the decisions given by the Court. He also assists at all acts of criminal inquiries and investigations. He is in charge of the process department, and carries out the orders of the Court. He receives the memorials of appeal, revision or review, and he prepares an account of the costs. Special laws extend his functions ; for instance, he assists the Judge of the Bailiwick in dispensing voluntary justice. He prepares the judicial statistics, and is charged with the custody and preservation of records.

The German Bench Clerk is a functionary of the State, and not, like the *greffier* in France, a ministerial officer with a proprietary right in his office. In the Bailiwick and District Courts he gets a salary of 2,625 rising to 4,125 francs per annum by quinquennial increments of 225 francs ; in the Superior Courts the salary is 2,625 to 5,250 francs ; and in the Court of the Empire 3,750 to 6,750 francs. They also generally get, like all functionaries, a house allowance. In all the States the conditions of capacity are rigorous, and everywhere a period of probation and examination must be undergone. It is also necessary to have completed 21 years, and to have satisfied the

obligations of military service. The probation lasts two years, of which one year must be passed in a Bailiwick Court, four months in the office of a District Court, four months in the Department of State Prosecutors, and four months with a Taxing Officer (*Revisor*). The candidate is placed under a particular Bench Clerk, whose duty it is to teach and supervise him. In the matter of appointments, special consideration is shown to old soldiers, who return to civil life, and a certain number of posts is reserved for sub-officers who have served 12 years, soldiers who have served 18 years, and invalid sub-officers and soldiers. Half the total number of Assistant Bench Clerkships is reserved for them, provided they undergo the preparatory stage and examination.

The Bench Clerk Department also comprises other offices (*Kanzlei*), a Copying Department, and a Classification of Records Department. The minimum period for which records are preserved is 5 years, and the maximum 50 and even 100 years. They are then destroyed, with the exception of documents which have an historic interest, and which are placed in the State archives. Copyists are paid 5, 6 or 7 pfennigs (as the President may direct) per page of 20 lines of 12 words each.*

The Bench Clerks and other office employes seem to be under a pretty severe discipline. The office hours are from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M., and one Bench Clerk must be present for urgent business from 3 to 6 P.M., and also on holidays from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M.

APPOINTMENT, TITLE, AND RANK OF MAGISTRATES.

The town of Bremen is the only German State which has confided the appointment of its Magistrates to an elective system ; in all other States the Sovereign appoints. But even in Bremen the members of the Public Prosecution Department are appointed by the Senate.

It has been shown above that the two examinations and the preparatory stage are a sufficient guarantee for the capacity of Judges. Beyond these no other condition is necessary either for first appointment or for promotion. The only exception is that persons related within certain degrees cannot belong to the same tribunal ; and in Bavaria even this exception ceases to apply if the tribunal is composed of more than ten Judges. The Judges of the Court of the Empire are appointed by the Emperor on the nomination of the Federal Council ; they must have acquired judicial experience in one of the German States, and have completed their 35th year. This is the only case in which any age limit is necessary.

* 1 pfennig = 1 penny. In Bengal an English copyist gets 2 annas per folio of 25 lines of six words each.

There are 7,582 Magistrates of the Judicial Service (Presidents, Councillors, and Judges) for the whole of Germany. Adding 382 Commercial Judges, the total comes to 7,964.

The Judges of the Superior Courts bear the title of Councillor (*Ráth*). The Judges of the District Court are called Councillors in some States and Judges in others. In Prussia and six other States, they bear the title of Judge, but the title of Councillor can be accorded by the Sovereign as a personal distinction and as a reward for services rendered. This is a sort of promotion which serves to excite zeal ; being reserved as a reward for exceptional merit, it affords a sufficient satisfaction to the legitimate desire for advancement. The Judges of the Courts of the Bailiwick (*Amtsrichter*) can, as a reward for good service, receive a personal title of Councillor of the Court of the Bailiwick (*Amtsgerichtsrath*), or in some States Superior Judge of the Bailiwick (*Oberamtsrichter*).

Each class of Magistrates is ranked along with other State functionaries in an official precedence list. In Prussia, the First Presidents of the Superior Courts belong to the second class of high functionaries ; the Presidents of Chambers, the Prosecutors at the Superior Courts, and the Presidents of the District Courts, to the third class ; the Councillors of Superior Courts, the Vice-Presidents of District Courts, the Councillors of District and Bailiwick Courts, the Chief State Prosecutors, to the fourth class ; State Prosecutors and District and Bailiwick Judges to the fifth class.

THE JUDICIAL OATH.

All Magistrates, Judges, Commercial Judges, Crown Prosecutors, and Bench take an oath on the assumption of their functions. With the exception of the Hanseatic Towns, where it is professional, the oath is everywhere political, and contains a promise of fidelity to the Sovereign. In most States the oath taken by Judges is the same as that taken by State functionaries. In Bavaria and six other States there is a special oath : " To perform the duties of Judge with all the strength of my mind and my conscience, with care and zeal ; not to favour either party, or to assist either with advice ; not to receive directly or indirectly any present or promise ; never to act from hatred, favour, fear, consideration of persons or other motives ; but in all my judicial acts, to keep only before my eyes God, the law, justice, and truth." The ordinary oath is that taken in Prussia : " In the name of the All-powerful God, who knows all, I swear to His Majesty the King of Prussia, my gracious master, submission, fidelity, and obedience ; I swear to perform all the duties of my charge with all the strength of my mind and my conscience ; and to observe faithfully the Constitution, as true as I hope for God's assistance."

SUPERVISION AND DIRECTION.

The Minister of Justice is the Chief of the Magistracy. He exercises a general supervision and superior direction and control over all Courts and all Crown Advocates. The same power belongs to the First President of the Superior Court over the Superior Court, the District and Bailiwick Courts ; to the President of the District Court over such Court and the Baliwick Courts within its resort ; to the Superior State Prosecutor over his Bar and the members of the Crown Prosecution Department within his jurisdiction, and so on.

The right of supervision (*aufsichtsrecht*) comprises the right to call for registers and records, to demand explanations, to watch over the despatch of business, the behaviour and conduct of the Magistrates and Officers of the Court, and to prescribe all measures necessary to secure the proper performance of the work to be done.

The supervision of Courts is carried out by means of regular inspections. In this way the Chief of the Courts and State Bars, seeing the Magistrates at work, acquire a more exact knowledge of its personal value, and of the conditions under which justice is administered. The President of the Superior Court (either himself or by a President of a Chamber) must inspect the District Courts. The President of the District Court must inspect every Court of the Bailiwick—once every four years in Prussia, once every three years in Bavaria. So the Chief State Prosecutor inspects his subordinates at the District and Bailiwick Courts.

In Bavaria there are some elaborate rules regulating the supervision of the judicial *personnel*. For instance, the President of each Court, or the Judge of the Bailiwick charged with the direction of business, keeps a record (*Personalakt*) concerning each Judge of the Court, containing all particulars of age, family, religion, fortune, number of children, &c.; also dates of passing examinations and probationary stage, and particulars of service and appointments, distinctions won and punishments undergone. The records or character rolls of Public Prosecutors are kept by their superiors. Moreover, all Magistrates, State Prosecutors, and Bench Clerks are subjected to a personal and periodical inspection (*qualifikation*), with the object of informing the Minister of their services. The inspection relates to the capacity, conduct and zeal of the Magistrate, and even to his health ; and is made with the aid of the information collected by the Presidents in the Courts of their inspections of Courts, and by means of the reports of the Chiefs of Departments. The results of the "qualification" are entered in the record and sent to the Magistrate's superiors and to the Minister.

Judicial statistics are regularly prepared. The Bailiwick Judges send annual returns of the cases tried in their Courts to the District Court ; the President of the District Court tabulates for all the Bailiwick Courts under him, and submits to the First President of the Superior Court, who in his turn submits to the Minister of Justice.

Magistrates, as well as the members of the Crown Prosecution Department, are functionaries of the State. They have the same rights and duties, and are submitted to the same discipline. For instance, they cannot marry without permission. This provision, which appears to be harsh, is aimed at preventing unworthy alliances, which, while lowering the person of the Magistrate, constitute an attack on justice itself. Judges, members of the Crown Law Department, and Bench Clerks are also forbidden, without the permission of the Minister of Justice, to take any part in the administration or supervision of a financial or commercial society, and such permission must be refused, if a remuneration is given under any form whatsoever. Nor can they take leave without permission. Such permission is accorded, according to circumstances and the length of the leave wanted, by the Chief of the Court, or by the Minister of Justice. Absence without leave entails forfeiture of half pay during the period of absence.

EXPENSES OF JUSTICE.

In Prussia the ordinary budget of the Minister of Justice, including prisons, was, in the year 1884-1885, 80,340,400 marks,* and the extraordinary budget, 3,855,680 marks. In the same year the French budget, which excludes prisons, was 6,188,750 francs for Courts of Appeal, and 20,082,500 francs for all other Courts. In Bavaria the budget amounted to 10,718,269 marks.

JUDICIAL DRESS.

The Magistrates, State Prosecutors and Bench Clerks wear a particular costume in Court. This practice dates from the new laws of justice, and was not introduced without a protest. The gown of French origin, proposed by Prussia, was keenly attacked ; it was pretended that, by its antiquated form, it would harm the prestige and dignity of justice, and would excite the

* The ordinary budget was composed as follows :—

| | | | |
|----------------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------------|
| Ministry | ... | ... | 552,020 marks. |
| Commission of Examination | ... | ... | 37,300 " |
| Superior Courts | ... | ... | 3,564,221 " |
| District and Bailiwick Courts | ... | ... | 54,285,981 " |
| Prisons | ... | ... | 7,700,275 " |
| Pensions | ... | ... | 1,700,000 " |
| Subsidies to certain Courts | ... | ... | 50,000 " |
| Expenses of Civil and Criminal Justice | ... | ... | 8 500,000 " |
| Postal Expenses | ... | ... | <u>2,070,880</u> " |

mockery of litigants. Some preferred to it the tunic, which is worn by Magistrates in Austria, Hungary and Russia. The Prussian Parliament, however, adopted the proposal of Government by a small majority of 154 to 140, and the example of Prussia was followed by all other States. The judicial costume consists, throughout Germany, of a gown and a hat, or cap, but the form and distinctive signs differ in different States.

The gown is worn throughout Germany by all the Magistrates, Crown Prosecutors and Bench Clerks of the Superior and District Courts. It is generally worn by the Bailiwick Judges, but in some States they only wear it when sitting as a Criminal Court with assessors.

As regards Advocates, there are different rules in different States. In Prussia and nine other States Advocates wear thin robes in the Superior and District Courts. In Bavaria the matter is left to the individual choice of each Advocate.

In all the German Courts a Crown Prosecutor, or an advocate, must, when addressing the Court, wear his cap, but he can uncover himself during the course of the trial. Similarly the Judges, Prosecutor, the Advocates in the case and the Bench Clerk must have their heads covered during the delivery of a judgment, or the taking of an oath.

SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES.

The salaries of the German Magistracy are generally superior to those of the French Magistracy, especially in the lower grades; and the superiority is more marked by reason of the comparative cheapness of living in Germany. Turning marks into pounds sterling, the First President of the Court of the Empire receives a salary of £1,250 per annum, inclusive of house allowance; the Presidents of Chambers and the Chief Crown Advocate receive £700, the Councillors and Advocates of the Empire £600, exclusive of a house allowance of £45.

The salaries of the First Presidents of the Superior Courts vary from £425 in Oldenburg to £800 at Hamburg. They are £700 in Prussia, £720 in Saxony, £750 in Alsace-Lorraine and Mecklenburg. In the other States they are only £440 or £480.

The salaries of the other Magistrates are as follows:—

SUPERIOR COURT.

| | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Presidents of Chambers | ... £306—396 (Bavaria) | to £700 (Hamburg) |
| Councillors | ... £200—300 (Baden) | to £650 (Hamburg) |
| Higher Crown Prosecutors | ... £200—310 (Baden) | to £600 (Alsace) |

DISTRICT COURT.

| | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| President | ... £165—300 (Lippe) | to £600 (Hamburg) |
| Vice-Presidents | ... £120—255 (Lippe) | to £500 (Hamburg) |
| District Court Judges | ... £120—231 (Reusz) | to £250—500 (Hamburg) |
| Bailiwick Court Judges | ... £100—225 (Baden) | to £250—500 (Hamburg) |
| Crown Prosecutors | ... £114 (Bavaria) | to £250—500 (Hamburg) |

It will thus be seen that the minimum salary of a German Magistrate is £90 in the Duchy of Baden ; but this salary rises after three years' service to £110, and after six years service to £130. Broadly speaking, no judicial salary in Germany is less than £120 per annum. The highest salaries are given in the Hanseatic Towns and in Alsace-Lorraine. As to the latter, the Imperial Government wished, by raising the salaries, to attract German Magistrates to the conquered countries, and so compensate them for the bad reception given them by the people.*

The Judges of the Bailiwick have the same salary as the District Court Judges in Prussia, Saxony, and ten other States ; in the other States it is from £30 to £54 less. In some States certain Magistrates receive, by reason of their functions, a supplementary allowance.

In a large number of States Magistrates are given a house allowance in addition to salary. This allowance varies according to the place of residence and the grade of the official, both towns and officials being divided into a certain number of classes. Salary is everywhere personal and increases by personal classes. The increase does not depend on the will of the Sovereign ; it is allowed according to length of service, or by seniority as vacancies occur. In Prussia the higher pay is gained by seniority, in increments of £30 for the higher, and of £15 for the lower Magistrates. In Bavaria promotion is given after 5, 10 and 15 years' service ; and thereafter increments of £9 are given for each completed five years' service up to certain maxima.

Magisterial salaries are generally paid in advance on the first day of the month for the whole month. Not more than one-third, and in some States one-fifth, is subject to attachment. It is not diminished by any deduction as a contribution towards pension ; the State admits that the pension is the due of long service, and that the public servant has not to purchase it.

In addition to salary, certain accessory allowances are assured to Magistrates. The house allowance has already been mentioned. The expenses of breaking up establishment † (*umzugs kosten*) on transfer are allowed to Magistrates, Crown Prosecutors and Bench Clerks, as to all functionaries. They

* It is impossible for any Indian Provincial Secretariat, with the best intentions, to do justice and give satisfaction in the matter of district appointments. The only real solution of the difficulty is to make the pay in the Dacca, Chittagong and parts of the Rajshahye and Presidency Divisions higher than in the rest of the Province, or to give some special house or other allowance.

† Such expenses are not allowed in India, and married officials experience great pecuniary loss by transfers.

consist of a fixed sum for the general expenses, and of travelling allowance according to distance. The scale of expenses incidental to moving is in Prussia :—

SUPERIOR COURT.

| | General Expenses. | Per 10 Kilometers. |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | £ | £ s. d. |
| Presidents of Superior Courts ... | 50 | 1 0 0 |
| Councillors ... | 25 | 0 10 0 |

DISTRICT COURT.

| | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----|--------|
| President ... | 50 | 1 0 0 |
| Vice-Presidents and First Crown Prosecutor ... | 25 | 0 10 0 |
| District Court Judges, Bailiwick Judges, Crown Prosecutors ... | 15 | 0 8 4 |
| Bench Clerks... .. | 9 | 0 6 3 |
| Subordinate Court Officers ... | 5 | 0 4 2 |

Married officials are generally allowed more than bachelors or widowers without children. Expenses of removal are allowed in all cases in Prussia, Baden, and Hesse ; they are not allowed in nine States, if the official or Magistrate is transferred at his own request ; in Saxe-Altenberg they are not allowed when the transfer means promotion, and in such a case in Brunswick the allowances due are reduced by the difference between the former and the new salary. Travelling allowance (*reisekosten*), as well as halting or diet allowance (*Diät, Tagegeld*), are given when Magistrates, &c., have to travel on duty, provided the distance of the place visited be more than two kilometers from their head-quarters.*

RETIREMENT AND PENSIONS.

Magistrates are irremovable; there is no restriction to this rule, which dominates all German legislations. A jurist remarks : "The limit of age, that blind and unjust law, which, to reach infirmities, strikes experienced and learned old age, the strength and light of justice, is unknown in almost all the German States." Saxony and Alsace-Lorraine only impose compulsory retirement at 65 to 70 years of age, respectively.

Magistrates have a right to pension on attaining the age of 65 to 70 years, or when they have served the State from 40 to 50 years. If they are rendered incapable of further

*The following rules may be of interest to Accountants-General in India : The travelling allowance is only one half the ordinary amount, if the journey does not last a minimum of six hours (in Würtemberg eight hours); in Oldenburg, when the officer returns before noon ; in such a case in Baden $\frac{4}{10}$ ths are allowed, and $\frac{7}{10}$ ths, if the return be before 9 or 10 P. M. in winter or summer, respectively. In Alsace and Würtemberg the allowance is reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$ th, and $\frac{1}{3}$ rd in Mecklenburg if the journey and return journey take place the same day. Accountants-General may, at the same time, note that mileage and halting may both be drawn for the same day.

service by physical or intellectual infirmities, they can, at their request, retire, or they can, when it is considered necessary, be made to retire. Great scandal has in several instances been caused in England by Judges holding on in spite of infirmity or waning faculties. The retirement is pronounced by the Sovereign or the Minister of Justice.

As regards compulsory retirement, it is not left to the all powerful will of a Minister, or of the administration. There are fixed rules, and the order is passed by the decision of a Judicial Court.

In the case of the Court of the Empire, the Magistrate, who is considered incapable of further service, is warned by the First President, and given a certain time within which to ask to retire. If he refuses, the Court has jurisdiction, and can in general assembly order retirement, after hearing the Crown Advocate and the Magistrate concerned (Arts. 130, 131). There is an analogous procedure for all grades of Courts. The warning is generally given by the President of the Court, and if it is not taken, there is an inquiry, which is secret. The decision is final, and the Minister of Justice acts on it. It is passed in various States by the Disciplinary Chamber, by Special Chambers composed of the Presidents and a certain number of Members selected by the Presidiums, by the general assembly of the Court, &c. Thus there is always a judicial decision, preceded by a formal procedure, which secures a free defence to the Magistrate threatened, and by repeated invitations which give him a chance of avoiding the humiliation of an inquiry. Moreover, the inquiry is generally made by the Judges of a Superior Court, and not by the Magistrate's own colleagues.

Members of the State Prosecutor's Department and Bench Clerks, like all State functionaries appointed for life, can demand their retirement and pension on the same conditions as Judges, that is to say, after 40 to 50 years' service, or at 65 to 75 years of age; but they have not the same privilege as Magistrates of serving on, and they can be compelled to retire after the above service, or at the above age. The compulsory retirement is pronounced by a simple administrative order.

The rules regarding the pensions of Magistrates in Germany are favourable. In some States the right to pension accrues from the date of appointment; in Baden and Hesse it only accrues after five years' service, in Würtemberg after nine, and in Prussia, Saxony and five other States after 10 years. The pension is calculated on the basis of the salary drawn at the time of retirement, and house allowance is generally considered as part of the salary. The minimum pension varies from

$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ in various States ; and rises by $\frac{1}{80}$, $\frac{1}{80}$, or $\frac{1}{100}$ up to the maximum, or until it equals the salary. The increase commences from the 5th, 10th or 15th year in various States.

The maximum pension is the full salary for the Court of the Empire, and for eight States, it is $\frac{2}{3}$ (or $\frac{66}{100}$) of the salary in Waldeck, $\frac{4}{5}$ in Prussia, $\frac{6}{8}$ in Alsace, up to $\frac{9}{10}$ in Oldenburg. The maximum pension is earned after 50 years' service in ten States, and by Judges of the Court of the Empire ; after 40 years' in five States, including Prussia and Saxony ; after 37 years' in four States ; after 35 years' at Lubeck, 30 years' at Bremen, and 25 years' in Waldeck. In Bavaria, Judges are entitled to their whole salary as pension, irrespective of length of service. It follows from the above that a pension of half the salary, which is earned in France only after 30 years' service, is earned in Germany in various States after 10, 15, 16, 17, 20, 25 and 30 years. Payment of pension is often delayed in France ; but in Germany the retired Magistrate or official continues to draw full salary for three months after his retirement, and is thus never reduced to the painful position of not drawing for months together either salary or pension.

If any dispute arises regarding the right to pension, or the amount allowed, it is cognizable by the Judicial Courts ; but in Prussia resort is not allowed to the Courts until an application has been made to the Minister. The limitation for suing is six months. Pensions, like salaries, are payable in advance.

The right to pension is forfeited, if the official or Magistrate loses the German nationality, or is deprived by a criminal sentence of his civil or public rights. In some States, the pension is reduced by $\frac{1}{10}$ th, and in others by $\frac{2}{5}$ th, if the pensioner resides abroad.

Widows and minor children are entitled to a pension. The widow gets $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the husband's pension, or of that to which he would have been entitled, subject to a minimum of £8 and a maximum of £80. Each child under 18 gets $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the mother's pension, if the mother is alive, or $\frac{1}{3}$ rd if she is dead or has forfeited her right to the pension. The total pension of widow and children cannot exceed the deceased official's pension. When the difference of age between husband and wife is from 15 to 25 years, the widow's pension is reduced by $\frac{1}{20}$ th for each year of difference. The pension ceases to be payable in case of the remarriage of the widow, of the marriage of the children, or of loss of nationality. No pension is allowed to the widow when the marriage has been contracted during the retirement of the husband, or without permission, or during the course of the illness from which the husband has died ; and in one or two States, if

the husband was 60 or 65 years of age at the time of the marriage.

Officials who are not Magistrates, contribute 3 per cent. of their salaries towards their pensions ; but bachelors do not contribute anything.

DISCIPLINE.

German Magistrates are, in all the States, subject to strict rules of discipline ; for irremovability should not and cannot place a Judge above his duties and the law, and assure him impunity. "It is absolutely indispensable," remarks a jurist, that discipline, the necessary counterpoise of permanency, should be able to recall him to the observance of his professional obligations ; to strike him with punishments ; and even, if there be occasion, to deprive him of those functions of which he has shown himself no longer worthy. But one condition is necessary to secure the independence of justice : the disciplinary power must not belong to Government ; it must be exercised solely by the Courts." These principles have been applied in Germany.

Only the Magistrates of the Court of the Empire are not subject to any rule or disciplinary punishment. It was considered that it would be useless, and might even be injurious, to impose rules of discipline on the members of this High Court, having regard to their position, age, and previous services. No disciplinary punishment can, then, be pronounced against them.* They can only be deprived of their functions, if they are convicted by a Court of Common Law of any dishonourable act, whatever the duration of the punishment which deprives them of their liberty. In this case, the Court of the Empire is convoked in general assembly by the First President, acting either of his own motion, or at the instance of the Ministry of Justice ; and dismissal can be pronounced after hearing the Chief Prosecutor of the Empire as well as the explanations and defence of the member proceeded against (Art. 128).

As regards all other Magistrates, the disciplinary jurisdiction is exercised by the Chiefs of the judicial bodies, or by those bodies themselves, who can inflict administrative punishments, or punishments of order (*ordnungstrafen*), or disciplinary punishments properly so-called (*disciplinarstrafen*). The disciplinary decisions can be appealed against before the superior authority. The punishments of degradation and dismissal can be pronounced only by a Disciplinary Court, in the forms and with the guarantees of criminal justice.

* Art. 158 of the law of the 31st December, 1873.

These main principles have been everywhere followed ; but their practical application, as well as the constitution and organisation of the Disciplinary Court varies in each State. It will be sufficient to notice the practice in Prussia.

In Prussia, every Magistrate is under the supervision of his official superiors, who have the right, either *suo motu*, or at the instance of the State Prosecution Department, to admonish (*mahnung*) him, and recall him to the observation of his duties. The Magistrates who have the right of admonition are the First Presidents of the Superior Court over all Magistrates within their resort, and the Presidents of District Courts over the members of the District Court and the Judges of the Bailiwick. The Magistrate who is admonished can protest and demand the institution of a disciplinary prosecution, or appeal to the next higher official superior. Recourse to one remedy excludes recourse to the other.

Disciplinary prosecutions or proceedings are instituted against Magistrates for grave failure in their duties, or if their conduct is such as to diminish the respect due to their functions and the consideration due to their persons. The disciplinary proceeding is instituted, in the first instance, in each resort of a Superior Court, before the Disciplinary Chamber of the Superior Court. This Chamber must include the First President, who presides, and the senior of the Presidents of Chambers, and is composed, besides, of members of the Superior Court appointed each year, for the duration of the year, by the Presidium. It sits with seven members. The Government has no voice in the appointment and choice of the Disciplinary Judges. This Disciplinary Chamber exercises jurisdiction over all the Magistrates within the resort of the Superior Court, with the exception of the First President and the Presidents of Chambers of the Superior Courts.

The procedure is governed by the same rules as those followed in the Criminal Courts of Common Law, but the hearing is not public. Witnesses may be heard, and the Magistrate proceeded against may employ an advocate. The decision follows a simple majority. The disciplinary punishments are warning (*warnung*), blame or reprimand (*verweis*), reprimand with fine up to a month's salary, degradation (*versetzung*), with or without diminution of salary, or with a fine up to a maximum amount of one-third of the salary, and dismissal (*dienst entlassung*). The disciplinary judgment is appealable ; preliminary orders are susceptible of review. The appeal must be instituted within four months from the judgment.

The Grand Disciplinary Chamber (*Der grosse Disciplinar-senat*) decides appeals and applications for review. It sits at the Superior Court of Berlin, and gives its decisions with

fifteen Judges. It is presided over by the First President of the Superior Court of Berlin, and is composed of the five most Senior Presidents of Chambers, and of the necessary number of Judges, who are appointed each year by the Presidium. The procedure is the same as that before the Courts of Common Law. The Grand Disciplinary Chamber, besides being a Court of appeal and review, decides, as a Court of first instance, the disciplinary proceedings instituted against the First Presidents and Presidents of Chambers of the Superior Courts. In Alsace the Court of the Empire has taken the place of the French Court of Cassation, and the French disciplinary laws have been maintained.

In Saxony, if the punishments of censure or fine are pronounced twice within a period of three years, the Magistrate so punished is deprived for two years of the right to promotion. In some States the disciplinary punishments consist of oral censure, written censure, fine up to two months' salary, transfer and deprivation of employment.

To sum up, disciplinary punishments can be pronounced only by a Court of Discipline; such Court is always the Court of superior jurisdiction, and no where, except in Bavaria or Saxony, does the choice of the Judges belong to Government. Finally, the Magistrate proceeded against has the same guarantees of free defence as accused persons at common law, and the procedure, with some exceptions, is the same as that of the ordinary Courts.

Administrative punishments, on the other hand, are pronounced by the official superior of the Magistrate, and in this case the Magistrate can appeal to the next higher superior, or the Court of Discipline, or can claim to be tried by the Court of Discipline.

The trial is generally not public. However, publicity is the rule in Oldenburg and Würtemberg; and in Hesse and Mecklenburg publicity can be ordered on the request of the Magistrate proceeded against, or of the Public Prosecutor. The decision of the Court of Discipline is appealable in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and eight other States. In four States, it is final, except in the case of the decisions of the Disciplinary Chamber of the District Court; and in six States it is final.

The Magistrate who is deprived of his employment, loses his right to pension; but, where there are extenuating circumstances, a part of the pension can be granted by the Court of Discipline for a time, or for life. A Magistrate must be dismissed who is sentenced by a Criminal Court to more than a year's imprisonment, or to deprivation of the right of exercising public functions.

Transfer is a punishment and can only be pronounced by disciplinary procedure. However, it may be necessitated by public reasons and in the superior interests of justice, without any reproach to the Magistrate transferred, who has a right to a post of equal rank and emoluments. Even so, transfer cannot result from a simple administrative order ; it is only possible when the necessity for a transfer, in the interests of justice, has been declared by a judicial tribunal. This is the sole exception to the principle of immoveability of residence, and the necessary guarantees are secured by the intervention of a judicial decision.

The members of the Crown Prosecution Department are functionaries, and not Magistrates ; and they are not submitted to the same rules of discipline as the Judges. They are under the authority and supervision of their official heads, the Chief Prosecutor of the District Court, the Superior Crown Prosecutor, and the Minister of Justice ; and they can be visited with administrative punishments. The advocate who is punished may appeal to the Superior Crown Prosecutor, or to the Minister, according as the decision has emanated from the District Court Prosecutor, or the Superior Crown Prosecutor.

EXCEPTIONAL COURTS.

Side by side with the ordinary Courts, the Code has permitted the maintenance, as an exceptional case, of certain special jurisdictions (Art. 14), the suppression of which was forbidden by ancient tradition, diplomatic treaties, special competence, or local interests.

COURTS OF NAVIGATION AND CUSTOMS.

The Courts of Navigation of the Rhine (*Rheinschiffahrtsgerichte*) and the Customs Courts of the Elbe (*Elbzollgerichte*) are International Courts. The first were established by treaties concluded between the riverain States and Holland, and the second by treaties between the riverain States and Austria.

The Navigation Courts adjudicate on all matters arising out of the navigation of the river, rights of pilotage, towing, wharfs, harbour, damage caused to riverain property, and disputes between masters and sailors, pilots or passengers. They also exercise a criminal jurisdiction and try contraventions of the river police. A Judge of the Bailiwick is appointed as the Court of Navigation, and he sits without assessors to try contraventions. An appeal lies to the District or Superior Court, and there is no further revision. Rhine Navigation Courts exist only in Alsace-Lorraine, Baden, Bavaria, Hesse and Prussia. Their number is 59.

The Customs Courts of the Elbe exist in Anhalt, Mecklenburg, Prussia, Saxony and Hamburg.

AGRARIAN COURTS.

Special Courts, known as Courts of Partition (*Auseinandersetzungs behörden*), preside over all agrarian operations which special laws have, since the commencement of the century, prescribed or authorised in Germany: such as partitions of communalities, redemption of servitudes, seignorial rights, and land charges, re-distribution of lands. In Prussia, Special Commissioners, attached to the Agrarian Courts, are sent to the spot to hold local investigations, examine titles, hear the parties, and prepare the decisions of the Agrarian Court. Appeal and revision are carried before the Superior Agrarian Court (*Oberlandes-Kulturgericht*) which sits at Berlin, and consists of a President and eight Judges appointed by the King, of whom five must possess the judicial capacity.

COMMUNAL COURTS.

Communal or Common Courts (*Gemeindegerichte*) exist only in Baden and Würtemberg. They have produced good results in practice, and serve to relieve the ordinary Courts. Their jurisdiction has no longer any obligatory character, and either party may take the matter before the ordinary Courts.

In the Duchy of Baden the Mayor takes cognizance of all disputes of material interest arising within the Commune, when the value of the object of the litigation does not exceed 10 marks, or, when the town contains more than 3,000 inhabitants, up to 30 marks. The Mayor must decide within 14 days: and his decision becomes final only after the lapse of 14 days. In Würtemberg the Communal Court is composed of all the members of the Municipal Committee of the Commune, or of three members specially delegated. It takes cognizance of civil disputes up to the value of 30, 40, or 50 marks, according to the class of the Commune.

COUNCILS OF EXPERTS.

Councils of Experts, or Industrial Courts (*Gewerbe-gerichte*), exist in Prussia, Alsace, Saxony, and at Hamburg. They take cognizance of disputes between masters and workmen concerning work, the execution of contracts of hiring, labour, apprenticeship, &c. They are composed of employers, managers and workmen, elected by an assembly of the same for three years. Every matter is taken for conciliation before an office composed of an employer and a workman; and if conciliation is not effected, before the whole Council. There is no appeal if the value of the litigation does not exceed 80 marks; if it exceeds that amount, there is an appeal to the District Courts.

SPECIAL COURTS FOR SOVEREIGNS & PRINCES OF THE BLOOD.

In most of the German States domestic laws or ordinances send before a special jurisdiction civil or criminal cases

which concern the Sovereign and the Princes of the blood. But in Baden, Brunswick and Oldenburg, the Sovereign and the Members of his Family are subject to the Courts of Common Law and do not enjoy any privilege.

In Prussia, the King, the Members of the Royal Family and the Hohenzollern Princes are subject to the civil jurisdiction of the Privy Council of Justice (*Geheimer Justiz Rath*). This Council, of which the creation dates back to 1604, is established at the Superior Court of Berlin. In Bavaria, a Royal Family Council (*Familien rath*) takes cognizance of cases of personal status, and the Superior Courts of other matters.

Besides these local legislative provisions, the Federal laws of procedure have accorded several privileges to the Sovereigns and Princes of the Blood. For instance, they are heard as witnesses at their own houses, and cannot be called to depose in Court.* They take oath by signing a formula which mentions the form of the oath.

In some States the principal members of the ancient Sovereign Families which have been mediatised, have a right, in criminal matters, to be tried by their peers (*Austrägalgericht*). The Code of Judicial Organisation has not thought fit to take away this right, which had been recognized by treaties, and had been consecrated by Article XIV of the Federal Constitution of the 8th June, 1815, and Articles 27 and 43 of the Congress of Vienna of the 9th June, 1815.

Such is the Judicial system of Germany. The Code opens out the most interesting problems in the fields of comparative jurisprudence, and the solutions which it gives to some most important questions are worthy of the attention, not merely of the statesmen and legislators of all civilized countries, but of all those whose duty it is to administer justice, and especially of English lawyers, whose views and ideas are bounded by the backward system of a solitary little island. We live in an age in which it is no longer permissible to ignore the institutions of foreign nations. Our rulers have no right to live indifferent to the counsel given by the science and experience of other countries. As was remarked by Louis XI. if one wishes to improve the administration of justice and police in one's own country, one must first study the manners, customs and laws of other countries, and pick out all that is most worthy of imitation.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

* Code of Procedure (Civil) Arts. 196, 340, 441, 444 ; Code of Procedure (Penal) Art. 71. Under sec. 641 of the Indian Code of Civil Procedure, the Local Government may exempt from personal appearance in Court any person whose rank, in the opinion of such Government, entitles him to the privilege of exemption.

ART. VII.—MODERN PROGRESS IN INDIA.

BY R. C. DUTT, C.I.E.

History of Hindu Civilisation during British Rule. By PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, B.SC. (London). Published by W. Newman & Co., Calcutta.

ANCIENT INDIA—with its rich traditions and literature, its wonderful religious revolutions, and its varied culture, arts and civilisation—naturally attracts the attention alike of the student and the antiquarian. Along with Egypt and Assyria, India has engaged the attention of the greatest antiquarians in the present century. Her literature has been explored ; her systems of philosophy have been studied ; her religious teachings are honoured by the civilised world ; her inscriptions have been read and explained ; her history has been, to a great extent, settled. To the Hindu student, these new discoveries have a peculiar charm, and he loves to turn from modern facts to the story of the Punjab Aryans, to the teachings of the Upanishads and Sankhya philosophy, to the lessons of Gautama Buddha, and to the deeds of Chandragupta and Asoka. He looks back with a pardonable pride to the bright annals of thirty centuries of progress and Hindu civilisation which preceded the rise of Moslem power in India.

In our admiration of the past, which is legitimate and well founded, we run the risk, however, of somewhat ignoring the present. And yet the present century is one of the most eventful periods in the history of our country. From the continuous wars of Wellesley and Hastings to the peaceful administration of Ripon and Elgin, what a record of steady progress, of culture and enlightenment ! The races of India have been brought into contact with Western civilisation and thought ; they have received the benefits of Western education and culture ; they are being drawn closer by the ties of their national religion and common history ; and they are feeling a deeper interest in their political welfare and advancement.

Raja Ram Mohan Rai stands forth as the first marked result of Western education and culture in India. His name calls up the memories of the stirring events of the day, the controversies between the party of progress and the party of orthodox opposition, which fill the annals of the earlier years of the century. Every great question of the day was discussed between the two parties, and on every question Ram Mohan stood forth as the champion of culture and progress. And it is a hopeful sign that the great reformer, with all his Western ideas, sought

for light from the ancient and sacred Scriptures of his own country, and taught his countrymen in the noble monotheism of the Upanishads. He helped in the founding of the Hindu College in 1817; and the Bráhma Samaj of India was established by him in 1829. These were the first indications of progress and advancement fostered by British rule in India.

Fortunately the destinies of India were entrusted about this time to enlightened and noble-hearted statesmen, whose names have lived ever since, enshrined in the affections of the people. Biographers devote their skill to white-washing the blurred features of robust, but not very clean-handed heroes, and military chroniclers bestow adulation on conquerors who knew how to annex more than how to assimilate. But the people of India, and not biographers and chroniclers, are the ultimate judges of the fame of Indian rulers, and they cherish to this day the names of Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck, as the greatest and noblest of Indian rulers.

The historian of the present century will trace, with unerring hand, the great work which these great pioneers of Indian progress did for India and her people. They trusted the people; they reposed confidence in them; they invited them to take a share in the administration of the country; they cleared the way for their progress and advancement. The sons of the soil, who had been hitherto considered unworthy of responsible work, responded to the call, and during the last two generations they have formed a body of honest, respected and able Government servants in all parts of India. Macaulay stood by Lord William Bentinck, and helped to establish English education in India on a sound basis.

Much has been written against the first results of English education in this country; but follies pass away with the day, great results last. Brilliant scholars came out of the Hindu College with a warm appreciation of Western literature and Western thought, and the history of our century will be incomplete without some account of the ferment which agitated the young Hindu mind of this period. The agitation produced healthy results in the end, and led to the formation of the healthy and chaste Bengali literature of the present day. The venerable Debendra Nath Tagore continued the good work of Ram Mohan Rai; and the twin workers, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Akhay Kumar Dutt, formed the elegant Bengali prose of the modern times.

Then followed the annexation of the Punjab and of Oudh and other provinces, and then the great Mutiny of 1857. The storm swept over the country, but administration was restored on a broader and firmer basis afterwards, and when India

passed under the Crown, she found in her Viceroy, Lord Canning, a ruler with broad sympathies and a strong will.

Social and literary culture went hand in hand with the march of these events, and the greatest Indian poet of the century, Madhu Sudan Datta, wrote his great Epic about this time.

It is needless to go on with the story further. Bankim Chundra, the first B. A. of the Calcutta University, began his brilliant literary career in Bengali in 1864, and Satyendra Nath Tagore, the first Indian Member of the Covenanted Civil Service of India, came out in 1865. Other young men came out in the Bar and in the Civil Service in subsequent years, and the number of young Indians receiving education in Europe can now be counted by the hundred. Political, literary, and industrial societies have been founded in all parts of India; Municipal administration has been placed in the hands of non-officials by Lord Ripon; and the Local Self-Government Act, passed by the same statesman, is helping the people of every district in India to take a share in the administration of their local concerns.

This is the briefest outline of the history of our eventful century, and it is desirable that some of our writers should exhaustively treat of these facts of the day. We are glad to find that materials are being collected, and we welcome the ambitious work of Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose on the *History of Hindu Civilisation during British Rule*. Works like this are much needed to illustrate the history of our eventful times.

I.

Mr. Bose's great work will be complete in four volumes, of which the first two volumes have been issued from the press. These two volumes treat of the Religious condition, the Social condition, and the Industrial condition of India; and they have been appropriately dedicated to Professor Max Müller and to the memory of Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar.

The work is a perfect storehouse of facts about modern life in India. Mr. Bose gives us a plain, unvarnished and yet interesting narration of every important movement, religious or social, industrial or intellectual, that marks the history of the modern Hindus. He tells us of their various religious sects, rites and ceremonies, of Vaishnavas and Bráhmas, of Chaitanya and of Keshab Chandra Sen. He gives us a colourless but interesting account of castes and marriage customs, of polygamy and Kulinism, of *Sati* and its abolition, of forbidden food and drink and sea voyage. He has a chapter on the social position of women, and another on the joint-family system. The outdoor and in-door games of the Hindus, their food, dress and ornaments, have been described in an interesting manner, while the

account given of *Pácháli* and *Half Akrai*, of *Kavi* and *Yátrás*, carries us back to the times of our fathers and grandfathers. All these details, giving a complete picture of modern Hindu life ; will be of great value to foreigners who wish to study the people of India, and can never fail to have interest for the Hindus themselves. But the most interesting portion of the book for the modern Hindu is the last portion of the second volume, which treats of Agriculture, of the Art-industries known in India since ages, of the infant Manufactures on modern methods, and of Mining industries. It is impossible for us to give, within our limits, any idea of the wealth of facts and information contained in this work ;—all we can do is to select a few at random.

The elaborate Introduction, of nearly a hundred pages, gives the writer an excellent opportunity to take a bird's-eye view of his subject, as well as to state and discuss his opinions, sometimes at great length, on a great many subjects. The reader, pressed for time, will probably pass this by, and begin with the *First Book*, where the writer settles down to a sober and interesting narration of facts relating to the religious condition of India. The history of religion in India through thousands of years given by Mr. Bose is somewhat of a twice-told tale ; but when we come to the last few centuries, the real interest of the work commences. Krishna-worship became the faith of the millions in India somewhat late in the day, and the illustrious Rámánuja, Madhváchárya and Rámánanda spread it over Southern India between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Rámánanda's disciple, Kabir, was a weaver by caste or profession, he preached to the million, and to the Hindu and the Musalman alike. "Of what benefit," he asked, "is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablutions and bowing yourselves in temples, when, whilst you mutter your prayers, or journey to Mecca and Medina, deceitfulness is in your heart ?" The millions responded to these spirited appeals and Kabir-panthis are numerous in Northern and Central India.

Then followed Nának, who was indebted for his religious ideas greatly to Kabir ; and Nának's pious followers were converted by persecution into the most powerful military race of modern India. Bengal also had her apostle of monotheistic faith, and the teachings of Chaitanya are still a living faith in Bengal.

But these are facts of the pre-British period. With the British conquest came the preachers of the Christian religion, but not with the sanction of the conquerors. The East India Company were a body of merchants, not religious preachers, and they threw every possible obstacle in the way of missionaries settling in these provinces. "When William Carey came

to Calcutta," says the writer, "in 1793, he had to preach the religion of Christ almost like a thief, in constant fear of being deported to England ; and when, six years later, he, Joshua Marshman and William Ward started systematic mission work, they sought shelter at Serampore, then a Danish possession."

Christianity has not made much progress in India, but our author's chapter on the Spread of rational Hinduism in our own days among the advanced Hindus (called Neo-Hindus by the writer, is most interesting. Oriental research, the spread of Sanscrit learning, the spread of a national feeling among Hindus, and the appreciation of the monotheism of the Upanishads are the main causes which are forming this new class of advanced Hindus. The author treats of the Arya-Samaj, of the Punjab and the North-West in this chapter.

We pass over his account of numerous modern sects which are springing up in every part of India, including that of the late Ram Krishna Paramhansa in Bengal, and we come to the very important and appreciative chapter on the Bráhma Samaj. Only four pages of the book are devoted to the life and work of Raja Ram Mohan Rai, and we think double that space might profitably have been given, in addition, to a delineation of the times in which he lived and worked. Devendra Nath Tagore continued Ram Mohan's work, and then came on the scene Keshab Chandra Sen, whose work is described in some twenty pages. For an impartial account of the Bráhma Samaj of India, within a very brief compass, we commend our readers to this chapter.

II.

In the *Second Book* our author deals with what he calls the Socio-Religious condition of the Hindus. A rational and impartial enquiry into the history of the caste-system leads him to the conclusions which are generally admitted at the present day, viz. :—

(1) That during the Rig Vedic period there were two great ethnic castes, the fair Arya and the dark-skinned Dása.

(2) That, in a subsequent age, the two great functional castes, the Bráhman and the Kshatriya, were differentiated out of the Aryan caste, while the body of the Aryan people formed the Vaisya caste ; the aborigines formed the Sudra caste.

(3) That, since then, the Sudra caste has increased and multiplied by fresh accessions of aboriginal tribes and by the degeneracy of the Vaisyas.

(4) And, lastly, that the disintegration of the great Vaisya and Kshasthya castes has formed the respectable functional castes of the modern times, like the Kayasthas and the Vaidyas.

More interesting still than this history of the caste-system is the writer's account of English influence on caste, and he shows how the English system of education, imparted to all alike, and the modern ways of travelling by steamer and railway, and various other modern influences, are welding together the Hindus of various castes into one great community.

The modern reader can scarcely conceive how cautiously, and yet with a benevolent desire to benefit the people of India, the British Government has fostered education and progress among them. Anecdotes, like the one we quote below, about the founding of the Medical College in Calcutta in 1835, fill Mr. Bose's volumes, and they are deeply interesting and historically valuable, as illustrating the progress of ideas. He quotes from Dr. Smith's *Life of Alexander Duff* :—

"Timidly and after a round-about fashion did the Apothecary-General [President of the Committee] approach the dreaded subject of dissection, for the first thing he learned, and, indeed, saw, was that the lads were chiefly Bráhmans. He thus began, 'You have got many scared books; have you not?' 'Oh yes,' was the reply, 'we have many shastras believed to be of divine authority' . . . 'Have you not also medical shastras which profess to teach everything connected with the healing art?' 'Oh yes,' they said, 'but they are in the keeping of Vaidya caste; none of us belong to that caste; so that we do not know much about them.' 'Do your doctors learn or practise what we call anatomy?' . . . 'We have heard them say that anatomy is taught in the shastras, but it cannot be like your anatomy.' 'Why not?' 'Because respectable Hindus are forbidden, by imperative rules of caste, to touch a dead body for any purpose whatever; so that from examination of the dead body our doctors can learn nothing about the real structure of the human body.' 'Whence, then, have they got the anatomy which, you say, is taught in the shastras?' 'They have got it out of their own brains, though the belief is that this strange shastra anatomy must be true or correct, it being revealed by the gods; but we now look upon this as nonsense.' 'What then if the Government should propose to establish a Medical College for Hindus under European doctors like the Medical College in Europe? Would you approve or disapprove of such a measure; or how would it be viewed by the natives generally?' 'We, certainly, who have been taught European knowledge through the medium of English, would cordially approve, but our ignorant orthodox countrymen would as certainly disapprove.' The Apothecary-General was greatly surprised when the English educated youths of the school expressed their readiness to join the Medical College, if Government would start it. 'What,' he exclaimed, 'would you actually be prepared to touch a dead body for the study of anatomy?' 'Most certainly,' rejoined the head youth of the class, who was a Bráhman; 'I, for one, would have no scruples in the matter. It is all prejudice, old stupid prejudice of caste, of which I at least have got rid.' "

Mr. Bose proceeds to state that, after the College was opened, the first demonstration by dissection caused great anxiety. The College gates were closed to prevent forcible interruption in that awful act; and when the first student, following his professor, plunged his knife into the subject for dissection, the action was looked upon as a remarkable instance of moral courage.

Still more interesting is the chapter on *Sati*, or the burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. The cruel custom is now a thing of the past, thanks to beneficent British legislation ; and the account of a rite witnessed and described by Sleeman and quoted by Mr. Bose has, therefore, all the interest of romance for the modern reader :—

“Satisfied myself that it would be unavailing to attempt to save her life, I sent for all the principal members of her family, and consented that she should be suffered to burn herself if they would enter into engagements that no other member of their family should ever do the same. This they all agreed to it, and the papers having been drawn out in due form about midday, I sent down notice to the old lady, who seemed extremely pleased and thankful. The ceremonies of bathing were gone through before three, while the wood and other combustible materials for a strong fire were collected, and put into the pit. After bathing she called for a *pán* (betel-leaf), and ate it ; then rose up, and, with one arm on the shoulder of her eldest son, and the other on that of her nephew, approached the fire. I had sentries placed all round, and no other person was allowed to approach within five paces. As she rose up, fire was set to the pile, and it was instantly in a blaze. The distance was about 150 yards. She came on with a calm and cheerful countenance, stopped once, and casting her eyes upward, said : ‘Why have they kept me five days from thee, my husband ?’ On coming to the sentries, her supporters stopped. She walked once round the pit, paused a moment, and, while muttering a prayer, threw some flowers into the fire. She then walked up deliberately and calmly to the brink, stepped into the centre of the flame, sat down and leaning back in the midst, as if reposing upon a couch, was consumed without uttering a shriek or betraying one sign of agony.”

It was little short of heroism on the part of Lord William Bentinck to abolish this cruel rite at the risk of exciting a mutiny in the country ; but that nobleman had made up his mind. What it cost him will appear from a passage which Mr. Bose has quoted :—

“Strong as his nerves were known to be, his anxiety on this occasion, as the time approached for laying the Act before the Council was observed by those about him, and was particularly obvious to those who could judge of the workings of his mind from his countenance and demeanour. The only opposition it encountered at the Council Board had reference to the clause which permitted the Nizamut Adawlut to punish the crime with death. It was reasonably urged, that to inflict the extreme penalty of the law in a transaction which our Government had previously legalized, would be an act of inconsistency. But the clause was passed without alteration, as the Members of Council were unwilling, by retarding the immediate enforcement of the regulation, to afford time for remonstrances from the natives which they knew would be warmly seconded by the European opponents of the measure whose sympathies were entirely Hindu.”

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and other advanced Hindus then presented Lord William Bentinck with an address, and the Governor-General's reply is a statesmanlike document which deserves to be quoted :—

“It is very satisfactory for me to find that, according to the opinions of so many respectable and intelligent Hindus, the practice which has recently been prohibited, not only was not required by the rules of their religion, but was at variance with those writings which they deem to be of the greatest force and authority. Nothing but a reluctance to inflict punishment for acts which might be conscientiously believed to be enjoined by religious precepts, could have induced the British Government at any time to permit, within territories under

its protection, an usage so violently opposed to the best feelings of human nature. Those who present this address are right in supposing that by every nation in the world, except the Hindus themselves, this part of their customs has always been made a reproach against them, and nothing so strangely contrasted with the better features of their own national character, so inconsistent with the affections which unite families, so destructive of the moral principles on which society is founded, has ever subsisted amongst a people in other respects so civilized. I trust that the reproach is removed for ever ; and I feel a sincere pleasure in thinking that the Hindus will thereby be exalted in the estimation of mankind, to an extent in some degree proportioned to the repugnance which was felt for the usage which has now ceased."

III.

The *Third Book*, on the Social condition of India, begins appropriately with an account of the social position of women ; and this is followed by a chapter on the Joint-family. Mr. Bose is by no means an out-and-out advocate of modern ideas of advancement ; he can afford to give room in his book to the views of orthodox critics who hold that female education " is secretly sapping the very foundations of our nationality." Mr. Bose himself does not endorse this view, but goes so far as to state that, with the breaking-up of the Joint-family system, " signs of an increased sense of self-interest are observable in the community."

The chapter on Amusements is replete with interesting facts, and treats of the Drama, Music, Games, Jugglery and Magic. In the following chapter, on Food, Drink, &c., Mr. Bose quotes, from an old number of this *Review*, an account of the habit of smoking *hookas*, in which Europeans indulged in the last century, and which will bear repetition :—

" Every *hookah-buridar* prepares separately that of his master in an adjoining apartment, and, entering all together with the dessert, they range them round the table. For half an hour there is a continued clamour, and nothing is distinctly heard but the cry of silence, till the noise subsides, and the conversation assumes its usual tone. It is scarcely possible to see through the cloud of smoke which fills the apartment. The effect produced by these circumstances is whimsical enough to a stranger, and if he has not his *hookah* he will find himself in an awkward and unpleasant situation. The rage of smoking extends even to the ladies ; and the highest compliment they can pay a man is to give him preference by smoking his *hookah*. In this case it is a point of politeness to take off the mouthpiece he is using, and substitute a fresh one, which he presents to the lady with his *hookah*, who soon returns it. This compliment is not always of trivial importance ; it sometimes signifies a great deal to a friend, and often still more to a husband."

IV.

We must hasten, however, to the *Fourth Book*, the last in these volumes, which contains interesting and valuable information about Agriculture and Industries. Mr. G. C. Bose, M.R.A.C., a specialist in Indian Agriculture, has contributed the chapter on Agriculture, and it is in every way worthy of him. It will interest our readers to know that in Bengal 41 millions of acres, out of the total cultivated area of 55 millions, are under rice cultivation. This is about 75 per cent. In the North-West the proportion under rice cultivation is 19 per cent. ; in

Madras, 23 per cent. ; in the Central Provinces, 24 per cent. ; in Bombay, 6 per cent. ; and in the Punjab, only 3 per cent. Our readers are aware that rice was unknown to the Punjab Hindus of the Vedic age, and their sturdy descendants still look suspiciously on the grain which fills more than it strengthens !

Wheat, on the other hand, is the staple food of Northern and Western India ; and the exportation of wheat has gone on increasing. The quantity of wheat exported from India was only about six hundred thousand hundredweight in 1871-72, and had risen to thirty million hundredweight in 1891-92. Comparing the areas under wheat cultivation in the different provinces, our author tells us "that wheat flourishes most where rice does not, and that the great wheat-producing area embraces the whole of Northern India up to the head of the Gangetic delta, and, in Southern India, the whole of the tableland above the Ghats."

Sugar has been known in India since ancient times ; and botanical evidence favours the idea of India being the home of the parent stock from which the cultivated varieties of sugarcane have been gradually evolved. Cotton, too, was extensively used in India in the time of Herodotus, and cotton fabrics used to be exported from India to all parts of the civilised world in ancient and in modern times. The development of machinery in England has revived the Indian cotton industry, and the raw produce is largely exported, especially since the American war of 1862. The annual export now is over five million hundredweight. The cultivation of jute has largely extended in recent times, and the annual export exceeds ten million hundredweight.

India has practically the monopoly of supplying the European trade with indigo, and the annual yield is estimated at fifteen million pounds sterling ; and India still supplies China with the best opium. On the other hand, silk is declining in India : we import more than we export. The silk of Japan, China and France controls the European market. With tea and coffee the peasantry of India have little concern.

Mr. T. N. Mukerji contributes a most valuable chapter on the Art-industries of India,—his special subject. The chapter deals with Painting, Engraving, Sculpture, Architecture, Woodcarving, Enamelled jewellery, Gold and Silver plate, Enamelled-ware, Brass and Copper manufacture, Inlaid-work, and various other industries known in India since remote ages. Cotton fabrics and silk fabrics have declined, and even the Kashmir shawl manufacture is in a deplorable state. Unless means are adopted to preserve it, "the art of weaving the finest shawls," says our author, "will probably be extinct."

The volume ends with two chapters on Manufactures on modern methods and Mining. In the former of these chapters Mr. Bose gives us figures showing that the import of cotton goods into India steadily increased for nearly thirty years after the Mutiny, from 1858 to 1886, but has been almost at a stand still since then. The value of cotton twist and cotton goods imported in 1858-59 was about 98 millions of rupees. It rose to 284 millions of rupees in 1886-87, and has stood at about the same figure ever since. Mr. Bose does not tell us whether this is on account of the cotton mills started in recent years in different parts of India.

Mr. Bose quotes from the Indian Textile Journal Directory the following interesting account of the way in which Rao Bahadoor Ranchorlal Chotalal started the cotton mill industry in India less than fifty years ago :—

"In 1848-49, he published a prospectus in a local vernacular paper of a small spinning mill of 5,000 spindles with 100 looms attached ; but his townsmen [of Ahmedabad] found the project too daring, and too full of risk ; and the fact that Bombay had not yet made such a venture, was taken as conclusive of its rashness. Fortunately he found in Mr. Laudan, the owner of a ginning factory at Broach, a colleague, who entered fully into his views, and the result was the establishment, in 1854, of a cotton mill at Broach. Soon after, the Oriental and the Manockjee Petit Mills were started in Bombay, and, in 1859, Mr. Ranchorlal Chotalal, with the aid of his local friends, was able to open the Ahmedabad Spinning and Weaving Company's Mill, which began work with 2,500 spindles. This mill has been managed for the last thirty-five years by himself, his son, and his grandson, and has now 32 000 spindles and 680 looms."

The last chapter in the volume is on Mining which is Mr. Bose's special subject. Mr. Bose produces very fair evidence that mining was extensively known in ancient India, although the industry was confined to the lower classes and often to the aboriginal races, and is little noticed by Brahman writers. The great lawgiver, Manu, even classes mining as a sin, and prescribes a penance for it ! But this, in itself, shows, that it was practised from the remotest times :—

"We have, however, abundant indirect evidence of the working of gold, silver, copper, and iron mines in ancient India on a rather extensive scale. The statement of Magasthenes with regard to the mineral resources of the country has been quoted already. Ktesias refers to the silver mines of India, which, he says, are deeper than those in Bactria. 'Gold also,' he says, 'is a product of India. It is not found in rivers and washed from the sands,' but is found on mountains. Pliny (first century A. D.) referred to the country of the Narece, who are identified with the Nairs of Malabar, as comprising numerous mines of gold and silver.

"More satisfactory evidence than all this is the discovery of extensive and numerous ancient mines of gold, copper, and silver. The ancient gold mines in the Wynaad region, 'indicate different degrees of knowledge in the miner's art. They consisted of 1,—quarrying on the outcrops of veins ; 2, vertical shafts ; 3, adits ; 4, vertical shafts with adits ; 5, shafts on underlie. Among these the most remarkable are the vertical shafts ; they are, even when in solid quartz, sometimes 70 feet deep, with smooth and quite plumb sides. What the tools were which enabled the miners to produce such

work in hard dense quartz no one appears to be able to suggest. The fragments of stones obtained from these various mines were pounded with hand-mullers, the pounding places being still seen, and the pounded stone was then, it is believed, washed in a wooden dish and treated with mercury."

We have now gone—although cursorily—over the whole field of Mr. Bose's two volumes, and shall await the publication of his remaining two volumes with interest. From what we have stated above, our readers will see that Mr. Bose is eminently fitted for the task he has undertaken. He is not a theorist and he is not an enthusiast; he advocates reform, but can appreciate what was good in the past; and, above all, he can let facts speak for themselves. A laborious enquirer, he is at the same time a pleasant narrator, and his style is simple and pleasant, chaste and perspicuous.

BURDWAN ;
1st September, 1894. }

R. C. DUTT.

ART. VIII.—THE BERARS.

(A HISTORICAL SKETCH.)

THE Province of the Berars is so far removed from all the main routes of communication in India, that probably many an Anglo-Indian even would be unable to lay his finger exactly upon its position on the map; and yet this portion of the country is by no means devoid of interest, whether on account of the peculiarity attaching to its present political position as "Assigned Districts," or of its past history, the traces which it contains of the struggles between the Mahrattas and the Moghals, and subsequently the English—in the course of which it formed part of the scene of one of the most brilliant of General Wellesley's campaigns—, and the extraordinary success which has attended its administration since its assignment to the British Government in the year 1853.

Under the, perhaps, better known title of "The Hyderabad Assigned Districts," the Province of the Berars acquires periodically an ephemeral notoriety, as the question of its restoration to the Nizam of the Deccan is brought forward by some well meaning, but mistaken, friend or dependent of that Chief. It relapses, however, as often into its former state of obscurity, as soon as the inherent impossibility of acceding to such a proposal, which would involve the reduction of the only really well-organised and reliable force at the disposal of the Nizam, is again demonstrated, and the temporary interest thus aroused has worn itself out.

The custom of assigning territories for the maintenance of armed forces is one that has always prevailed in Asiatic countries, as it did also in Europe till comparatively recent times, before the introduction of standing armies, paid by, and immediately dependent upon, the Sovereign, had supplanted the old system by which every owner of land was obliged to furnish his quota of armed men, when called upon to do so, in defence of the national interests.

In the East, in default of such standing armies, which are there too recent an innovation to be any thing but very imperfectly understood, the armed force of a State is still mainly provided for by its Tributary Chiefs, or by the assignment of land to individuals upon the condition of their providing a specified number of soldiers when occasion requires.

The circumstances under which the Berars were assigned to the British Government, to provide the means for the maintenance of a fixed body of troops, for the use, indeed, of the Nizam, but to be placed at the disposal of the British whenever

they should require its services, may be described as the exact converse of the above system.

In the case of the Berars, the Nizam of the Deccan, being no longer in a position to maintain the troops with which he was required by Treaty to furnish the British Government when called upon to do so, was reduced to the necessity of assigning to it a portion of the territory nominally under his rule, in order that, by its administration of the same, the necessary funds might be provided. The obligation for the furnishing of this force has thus been transferred from the assignor to the assignee, and the terms of the assignation have become the same as if it were upon the British Government that the obligation lay to provide the force of the Hyderabad Contingent, instead of upon the Nizam of the Deccan.

The relations of the British Government and the Nizam are peculiar in such matters, for they are under mutual obligations for the maintenance of troops for one another's benefit. The burden of these falls more heavily upon the British Government than on the Nizam; for while the latter has to furnish a force of 7,000 natives, officered by Europeans, which are provided for from the result of the careful administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts by the British, the British Government is bound to maintain permanently in garrison at Secundrabad, for the protection of the Nizam, a body of about 8,000 men, consisting of British Artillery, and British and Native Cavalry and Infantry. This is a source, not only of great expense, but of great inconvenience, when troops are required elsewhere; for the Nizam is very jealous of the privilege, and keeps a careful watch over any attempted infraction of his rights by a reduction of the force which the British Government has by Treaty stipulated to keep there.

The history of the Berars previous to its being thus placed under British Administration had been a very chequered one for many centuries; as, from its geographical position, it constituted a sort of debateable ground between the rival Mahomedan kingdoms of the Deccan, and subsequently, on the rise of the power of the Mahrattas, between these latter and the Mahomedans themselves.

The first record of the appearance of the Mahomedans in this part of India is that of Ala-ud-deen, the nephew of the Emperor Feroze-Ghiiji, of Dehli, who, in the year 1294, crossed the Satpura range of mountains, which bound the Berars on the North, and separate it by a labyrinth of deep forests and tangled ravines from the more open country of Central India, and took Ellichpur, the capital of the Hindu Rajah of the country, after a desperate resistance, in which many

Mahommedans were slain. Ala-ud-deen was followed by various bands of Mahommedan marauders, against whom the Hindu population would appear to have made a gallant stand for some years, till the year 1320, when it was finally reduced by Mubarak Ghilji, and it never afterwards appears to have passed entirely from the nominal dominion of its Mahommedan rulers, though their supremacy therein was, many years later, successfully contested by the Mahrattas for a very long period.

Under the Emperor Mahomed Taghluk in the 14th century, the Berars constituted one of the Provinces placed, on account of their distance from the seat of Government, under the more immediate control of the Imperial Viceroy, or the "Nizam," as was his Mahommedan title, of the Deccan, who resided at Dowlatabad, the Hindu Deogurh, to which the Emperor had temporarily transferred his capital from Dehli.

Upon the death of this Emperor, amid the disturbances which attended the decline of the dynasty he had founded, all these Southern Provinces fell away from the Imperial sway, and were divided into numerous petty Mahommedan kingdoms. Amongst these the Province of the Berars fell to the lot of the Bahmani dynasty, the seat of whose rule was at Gulburgah, and it remained under their sway for a period of 130 years, till its collapse in 1526.

It was during this period that the famous fortress of Gawilgarh, on the hill plateau of Chikalda, amongst the Satpuras, was constructed, in 1420, by Ahmed Shah Bahmani, who resided for a year at Ellichpur. He also repaired the ancient Hindu Fort of Narnalla, further west, on the southern border of the same range.

During the declining days of the Bahmani dynasty, a Canarese Hindu had risen to the position of the command of the Berar forces, under the title of Imad-ul-mulk. He set himself up in the year 1484 as a petty chief at the fortress of Gawilgarh. Thence he gradually extended his rule, and thus founded the Imad Shahi dynasty of the Berars, which lasted for 90 years, till the year 1572, when it was conquered by Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmadnagar, who ceded it to the Emperor Akbar in 1594. After the conquest of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar by the Emperor Akbar in 1607, and the consequent extinction of the Nizam Shahi dynasty which had reigned there since 1489, this Province, together with those of Berar and Khandeish, was constituted a Viceroyalty of the Deccan, the seat of Government of which was established successively at Ahmadnagar and Aurungabad, till, in the year 1724, it was transferred by Chin-Kilich-Khan Asof-Jah to Hyderabad, the present capital of the dominions of the Nizam of the Deccan.

It may here be observed that the greater part of the territories which now constitute the State of the Deccan, were not incorporated in the Moghal Empire till many years later, after the conquest of Golcondah by Aurangzeb in the year 1687, when this kingdom, together with the Province of the Carnatic, was formed into a subordinate Governorship, or Subha, under the Viceroyalty of the Deccan. In 1724, when Chin-Killich-Khan Asof-Jah moved the head-quarters of his Viceroyalty to Hyderabad, which was then a new town that had sprung up in the immediate neighbourhood of the ruined Golcondah, the territories under Mahomedan rule in the Deccan had, by the repeated aggressions of the Mahrattas, become restricted to little beyond the limits of this subordinate Governorship. The Emperor Akbar then, having included the Berars, which then also included Nagpur, in the Viceroyalty of the Deccan, placed the latter Province under the Governorship of his son, Prince Murad, who built a palace for himself near Balapur. The Berars, under Moghal rule, formed a Subha, and, from the revenue assessment drawn up by the Emperor Akbar, its prosperity would appear to have at that time constituted a favourable example of the successful results attained by that sagacious ruler's treatment of his subjects.

The "Ain-i-Akbari," or Revenue Statistics of the Moghal Empire, drawn up, under the orders of Akbar, by his famous Minister, Todar-Mull, show that the Districts at present contained within the limits of the Berar Province then realised about 120 lakhs of rupees of revenue. This is sufficient proof that the position of the Province must, under Moghal rule, have been far more prosperous than it was when it was assigned to the British Government, after having been for 50 years under the administration of the Nizam, for its revenues at the latter date were estimated by the Nizam's Government itself not to exceed forty lakhs. This decrease of prosperity must not be attributed entirely to mal-administration by the Nizam, for the Province had for a period of upwards of 100 years, during the decay of the Moghal Empire and until the rise of that of the British, constituted a sort of debateable ground between the opposing forces of the Mahomedans and the Mahrattas, who alternately ravaged its territories. Upon the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, and the subsequent destruction of the Moghal supremacy in Southern India, the Berars fell under the rule of Chin-Killich-Khan, the Nizam-ul-Mulk Asof-Jah, as was his official title. This Chief, whether as a statesman or as a soldier, was by far the ablest Mahomedan leader at this period. It was his energy and ability that rescued the Province of the Deccan from the state of disorder and distraction into which it had fallen, and which would have rendered it a ready prey to the Mahratta hordes hovering

around it, and his diplomacy and talent for intrigue, which enabled him, by sowing dissensions amongst the latter, and alternately siding with the one against the other, to evade compliance with their exactions, and maintain the comparative independence of his position. Had it not been for the appearance of Chin-Killich-Khan upon the scene at this very critical period of the struggles between the Mahommedans and the Mahrattas, it is probable that every trace of Mahomedan supremacy in the Deccan would have been swept away as completely as was the case with the neighbouring Viceroyalties of Malva and Gujarath. Chin-Killich-Khan had been instrumental in securing the throne of Dehli for the Emperor Faroksier, and the latter, on his accession in the year 1721, rewarded him with the post of Nizam, or "Viceroy," of the Deccan.

His successful administration of the Province thus assigned him excited the jealousy and suspicions of the two brothers, Syed Hoosein Ali and Syed Abdoola, who had constituted themselves the "Mayors of the Palace" of the weak-minded and effeminate Moghal Emperor, and they intrigued for his recall.

Chin-Killich-Khan, however, defeated, in two pitched battles, the forces sent against him to enforce this order. In this opposition he was joined by Ghaus Khan, the Governor of the Berars, and the most important of these battles took place at Balapur in the Akola District. Upon the fall of the Syeds, he was again received into favour by the Emperor Mahomed Shah, who made him his Vazir. The laxity and self-indulgence of the Moghal Court was, however, as distasteful to Chin-Killich-Khan as the austerity of his own manners and habits rendered his presence there insupportable to the Emperor and his courtiers. He, in consequence, applied for and obtained the Viceroyalty of Gujarath, in addition to that which he already held of the Deccan. Here, again, his success in reducing this Province to order, and checking the incursions of the Mahrattas, proved as great as it had done before in the case of the Deccan. This raised once more the jealousy of the Court favourites against him, and he returned to Dehli to resume his position as Vazir for only a brief period, when, finding the demeanour of the Emperor and his favourites unmistakably adverse to him, he pleaded ill-health, resigned his post as Minister, and withdrew to his Viceroyalty of the Deccan.

It was on this occasion that the Emperor conferred upon him the additional title of Asof-Jah.

At the same time, however, he secretly wrote to the subordinate Governors of the Province, denouncing him as a traitor.

The consequence of this duplicity was a desperate encounter between the forces of Chin-Killich-Khan and Mubarni Khan, the Governor of Hyderabad, in which the latter was completely defeated near Aurangabad, and Chin-Killich-Khan, marching southwards, regained possession of Golcondah and Hyderabad, and all the southern districts constituting the Province of the Deccan.

It is from this period that the independence, if it can be so called, of the "Nizams" of the Deccan must be dated. They remained, indeed, nominally the Emperor's Viceroys, as the title they still retain implies, but they practically occupied henceforward the position rather of Tributary Chiefs to the Moghal Empire while it lasted, as they still continue to do under that of the British, which has succeeded to the rights of the Moghal. The office of "Nizam," or Viceroy of the Deccan, which had hitherto been one of the most valued pieces of patronage of the Dehli Court, became henceforth hereditary in the family of Chin-Killich-Khan. The rule of the "Nizams" in the Berars, before this Province was conquered from the Mahrattas by the British, and handed over to him after the battles of Assaye and Argaum, in the year 1803, appears to have been always rather nominal than real. Though the Mahrattas seem to have recognised it as forming a part of his dominions, this did not prevent them from occupying it with their forces, and placing their own officers to collect the taxes, which they levied from all districts, which they had overrun but not actually annexed, of "Chauth" and "Deshmooke." These taxes, which were rated respectively at 25 per cent. and 10 per cent. upon the revenue of the Province, were claimed by the Mahrattas as a species of "black-mail," or price of exemption from their raids. They had their origin in certain assignments upon the Bijapur revenue, granted to Sivajie by Aurangzeb under the same title, as the price of his surrendering to the Moghals some forts taken from this State, with which Aurangzeb was then at war, and of his co-operation in the prosecution of the war.

From this date, wherever the Mahratta arms spread, or their influence penetrated, these taxes were levied. In 1720 Balajee Vishwanath, the Peishwah, or Minister of Sivajee, or Shao, the Rajah of the Mahrattas, obtained from the Emperor Mahomed Shah a grant of these taxes, or tribute (as it was euphemistically designated, to avoid injuring the susceptibilities of the Mahommedans), for the whole of the Deccan.

In this deed the revenues of the Berars are estimated at 115 lakhs of rupees. From this it would appear how low the power of the Moghals had then fallen ; for the collectors

of this tribute were appointed by the Mahrattas in all the principal cities of the Deccan.

Though the Berars had, for many years previous to this, been subject to irregular forced contributions from the Mahrattas, it does not appear that, until then, there had been any organised system for their collection. The curious anomaly thus occurred of two rival Governments collecting taxes, at the same time, from the same population.

This period is known locally as that of "Do-amli," or "Double Government;" for the Mahrattas posted their officers all over the Province, occupied it with their troops, and collected more than half the revenue, while yet admitting the "de jure" supremacy of the Nizam.

It was, of course, impossible that such a system could work without frequent disputes, and the unfortunate inhabitants were exposed to alternate plunderings by the Mahrattas and the Nizam's troops, according as the one or the other got the advantage, and were able to enforce their claims. The general result, however, was a steady increase in the Mahratta influence till the year 1734, when Raghojee Bhonslay obtained from the Peishwah a sunnud for the collection of tribute from the Berars, which then included Nagpore, and may be said to have laid the foundation of a local Mahratta dynasty, which, but for the intervention of the British, would have been continued in the same way as the existing dynasties of Sindia and Holkar. That this was the view taken of the position by our English historians is evident from the fact that Raghojee Bhonslay, the son of the above mentioned, who succeeded to his title and rule, is described by them always as the "Rajah of Berar" in their accounts of the war between the English and the Mahrattas, in which he took a part.

Towards the middle of the 18th century the power of the Mahrattas was at its zenith. The armies of the great Mahratta Chiefs had penetrated to Lahore and Dehli, and the neighbourhood of Calcutta, in Northern India. Towards the south all signs of Mahomedan rule had disappeared from the Viceroyalties of Gujarath and Malva, which had now become the hereditary possessions of the Mahratta families of the Gaikowar and Holkar, respectively. The only remaining Viceroyalty, that of the Deccan, had become so circumscribed by cessions of territory, and reduced by exactions of tribute, that it may be said to have presented little beyond the phantom of independence. The fatal defeat which the combined forces of the Mahrattas sustained in 1759 at the hands of the great Afghan conqueror, Ahmad Shah Abdali,

In the battle of Panipat, broke their power altogether in Northern India, though they continued, after his departure, to overrun it periodically with their troops. In Southern India, however, their force remained unbroken, and, had it not been for their own internal dissensions, and the appearance upon the scene of the British, they would undoubtedly have before long succeeded in sweeping away every sign of Mahomedan rule from the country.

Dissensions, however, broke out between Sindia and Holkar, the two most powerful of the Mahratta Chiefs, which continued for many years, and laid the seeds of a hereditary jealousy, that has never been completely stifled. In the year 1800 the influence of Sindia was in the ascendant, and Poona, the capital of the Peishwah (who was the nominal head of the Mahratta confederation, but had become little more than a pageant in their hands), was occupied by his troops. The influence of Sindia was contested by Holkar, who, after a campaign conducted with varying success, defeated, in the year 1802, the combined forces of Sindia and the Peishwah outside Poona, and forced the latter to flee from his capital. Reduced to these straits, the Peishwah turned to the English for assistance, and concluded with them the famous Treaty of Bassein, by which he assigned to them certain districts for the permanent maintenance of a British force for his protection at Poona, in the same way as the Nizam did subsequently for the maintenance of a British force at Secundrabad for his own against the Mahrattas.

The Treaty of Bassein was viewed with the greatest alarm by the Mahratta Chiefs, who realised too late the danger into which their internal disputes had plunged them; for, by this Treaty, in which the British posed as supporters of the titular suzerain of the Mahratta people against his rebellious chiefs, a wedge was inserted into the confederation, which divided it into hostile camps.

Sindia, in spite of his recent differences, endeavoured to negotiate with Holkar a general confederation against the British; but Holkar preferred the prospect of a possible defeat of his rival by the latter, and thus stood aloof, from motives of personal jealousy.

Lord Wellesley, who was then Governor-General of India, realized at once the importance of the juncture, and made preparations to assail Sindia from all sides. In the North, he directed General Lake to advance against Dehli, which was then occupied by Sindia's forces, a movement which resulted in the total defeat of the latter at the battle of Laswaree. In the South, his brother, General Wellesley, was ordered to attack the combined forces of Sindia and the Rajah of Berars, which

were threatening Poona from the Berar. The campaign commenced with the capture of Ahmadnagar, which General Wellesley made his base of operations, and thence he advanced to meet the Mahratta forces which were marching upon him. The forces at General Wellesley's disposal moved in two divisions along parallel routes, for the purpose of facilitating their advance. Of these, one division, consisting of about 4,500 men of all arms, was under Wellesley himself; and the other, of about 3,000 men, was under Colonel Stevenson. It was agreed that on a certain day these two forces should meet at a particular spot, which, it was calculated, would be in the neighbourhood of where the Mahratta army would then be, and combine to attack the latter; but, by some mistake, on the day fixed, General Wellesley found himself in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mahratta troops, and thus unable to await, as he considered, without considerable risk, the arrival of Colonel Stevenson's Division.

He accordingly attacked them forthwith, although they numbered some 40,000 men, and, in the battle which ensued, named, after a village close by, the battle of Assaye, completely routed them, and pursued Sindia beyond the Taptee.

Following up this victory, Wellesley proceeded against Raghojee Bhonslay, the Rajah of Berar, who had rallied a great portion of Sindia's troops, and, with these and his own, had taken up a position near Argaon in the Berars, covering the fortresses of Narnalla and Gawilgarh. Here another severe engagement was fought, in which the Mahrattas were again defeated, and this was followed by the siege and capture of Gawilgarh.

The Mahratta supremacy in the Berars was thus completely broken, and they were then handed over to the Nizam, who was at that time our ally, by the Treaty of Hyderabad, in 1804.

With the successive victories of the British, the constant state of internal warfare to which the southern portion of India had been subjected for so many centuries gradually ceased, as one district after another was brought under their rule. The result of this was that the more remote parts of the country, and more particularly the Native States, where the means of maintaining order were then, as they are now, by no means on a par with those in the surrounding British territory, were infested with hordes of marauders, who had collected from the wrecks of the disbanded and defeated armies of the neighbouring districts. This was more especially the case with the State of the Deccan, which, as a consequence of the straits to which it had been reduced by the pressure of the Mahrattas, had fallen into a condition of utter

disorganisation and was entirely powerless to control these banditti, who wandered about, desolating the country and defying the authority of the Nizam. The Berars, in particular, on account of its remoteness, became a favourite hunting-ground for these marauders. In addition to this, the Hindus, who were the more numerous, and had been for a long period under the régime of the Mahrattas, the dominant portion of the population, resented their re-subjection to the rule of the Mahommedans.

The consequence of this unsettled state of affairs was that the fact of this Province having been handed over to the Nizam made, for many years, but little difference in his position there, or in any benefit he derived from the gift. It was only by the repeated intervention of the British that the local disturbances were periodically quelled, the rule of the Nizam was re-established, and the repeated incursions of the Pindarees and Rohillas, and of the wild tribes of the Satpuras and neighbouring mountain ranges, were put a stop to.

As late as the year 1849, a serious insurrection of the Hindus occurred, which was only suppressed by the despatch of a strong body of British troops from the garrison at Secundrabad.

What with these difficulties and the incompetency of the Nizam's officials, the finances of the State had, in the year 1853, become so embarrassed, that it was utterly unable to find the means for the maintenance of the Hyderabad Contingent, which was the only force upon which it could rely for keeping the little order that then existed. The Nizam was thus not unwilling to get rid of such a troublesome charge as that of the Berars, and at the same time shift to the British Government the difficulty of providing for the Contingent he was bound by Treaty to maintain, by assigning to the latter the Province of the Berars, for its expenses.

At the time of the original Treaty, in 1853, the revenues of the Nizam's territories had fallen so low that it was found necessary to assign, for the above purpose, a very much larger area than has since been required under British administration, or is now contained within the limits of the "Hyderabad Assigned Districts." Of this a considerable portion was handed back to the Nizam, in return for his loyalty during the Mutiny, by a fresh Treaty, made in 1860, and the present Districts of the Berars only retained.

The revenue of these was then estimated at 32 lakhs, a sum barely sufficient for the purpose required. Since the date of its assignment to the British, the most extraordinary change has come over the Province. From being the haunt of banditti and the scene of every sort of disorder and misrule, it

has become one of the most highly-advanced districts under British rule. Whereas in 1853 no means of communication existed, beyond country roads untraversable for six months in the year during the rainy season, and for the rest traversable only with difficulty by the heavy bullock-carts of the country, the Province is now traversed in all directions by metalled roads with masonry culverts, along the greater part of which one could drive a four-in-hand with perfect ease. These connect all the principal towns and villages with one another and with the line of railway which now crosses the Province at its extreme length from East to West. The population, which, in the year 1860, was estimated at about two millions, had risen at the latest census to nearly three millions.

At Ellichpur, the ancient capital of the Berars, a Municipal Committee holds its monthly meetings in the halls of the ruined palaces of the Moghals, whilst beneath its battlements is heard the murmur of the cotton-gin.

The topics of interest which at present most engage the attention of the elders of the community, as they meet daily at the Public Library and Reading Room, are "the Elective Principle," the "Rights of Man," and other kindred subjects recently discussed at a gathering of the National Congress held in the neighbouring town of Amraoti. In the school hard by the younger members are studying the histories of England, Rome, and Greece, Shakespeare's Plays, Milton and Rasselas.

Such is the extraordinary transformation which is now going on before our eyes amongst what is termed the *educated portion* of the natives of India. Whether or no, as some persons think, this incongruous grafting of Western ideas upon Eastern minds is being too hastily and inconsiderately conducted to be capable of really taking root, and growing up, and bearing good fruit, time alone can show.

In the meantime the ruins of the fortress of Gawilgarh (where only 90 years ago a Rajput garrison gave themselves, their wives and children, to the sword, sooner than surrender to the British) frown grimly down from the crests of the overhanging ranges of the Satpuras upon all these strange innovations, as though to remind us that it is the rougher instincts of human nature which are the most deeply implanted, and that its rocks and ramparts may yet be the scene of conflict, when Municipal Committees and European Libraries have for the time disappeared, or, may be, ceased to exist.

Again, as an index to the strong currents yet stirring under so smooth a surface, come reports of the raids of dacoits, who from time to time dash across the frontier of the neighbouring territory of the Nizam, and hurry back to their lairs,

leaving behind them a route marked by a track of murder and rapine.

So late as a year ago, the attitude of these marauders had become so daring, and their depredations so extensive, that it was found necessary to draw up a scheme for concerted action between the Nizam's officials and those of the British Government to repress them, which resulted in the capture of about 50 or 60 of these desperate characters.

C. E. BIDDULPH.

ARTIX.—BENGAL : ITS CASTES AND CURSES.

(Continued from No. 198, October 1894.)

KULINISM AS INSTITUTED BY KING BALLALA AND AS REORGANIZED BY DEVIVARA.—(Continued.)

IT is said that when King Ballála instituted *Kulinism*, he found nine principal qualities, or distinctions, in those Bráhma-
manas who were made first grade Kulins (*Svabháva Kulins*). These nine qualities are :—

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. আচার (Achara)* | ... | Good behaviour, as well as observance of <i>Shas- tric</i> ceremonies. |
| 2. বিনয় (Vinaya)* ... | ... | Good training, as well as modesty, humility. |
| 3. বিদ্যা (Vidyá) ... | ... | Learning. |
| 4. প্রাতষ্ঠা (Pratisthá)* | ... | Reputation for good deeds. |
| 5. তীর্থদর্শন (Tírtha-darsana)* | .. | Visiting holy places. |
| 6. নিষ্ঠা (Nisthá)* ... | ... | Unshaken devotion to God. |
| 7. আবৃত্তি (Avritti) ... | ... | Observance of legal marriages. |
| 8. তপঃ (Tapah)* ... | ... | Self-control, endurance of sufferings in resignation to God. |
| 9. দান (Dána)* ... | ... | Charity. |

Those who were made *Srotriyas* were found wanting in one of these nine qualities, while those who were made *Gaund* Kulins were found wanting in more than one of them. Adherence to the strict law laid down in the *Code of Kulinism* as regards giving and receiving of daughters being afterwards found to be impracticable, the *Svabháva*, or first grade Kulins, had frequently had to contract irregular marriages, and thus, breaking up the integrity of the class, became *Bhanga†* Kulins, or Kulins who fell into a lower state than the absolute Kulins from not having married among their equals. The following are the progressions of the *Bhanga* Kulins :—

(a) The *Svakrita* (self-made) *Bhanga* or the *Ekapurusha Bhanga*.

* Mr. Risley interprets these qualities somewhat differently in his "Tribes and Castes of Bengal." We have, therefore, not adopted his synonyms.

† The word '*Bhanga*' literally means 'broken.'

- (b) The *Svakrita Bhanga Puttra*, or Son of the *Svakrita Bhanga Kulin*.
- (c) The *Tripurusha Bhanga*, or who stands third in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*.
- (d) The *Chaturthapurusha Bhanga*, or who stands fourth in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*.
- (e) The *Punchamapurusha Bhanga*, or who stands fifth in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*.
- (f) The *Shashthapurusha Bhanga*, or who stands sixth in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*.
- (g) The *Saptamapurusha Bhanga*, or who stands seventh in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*, and who is commonly known as *Vansaja*.

This progression of degradation is nowhere mentioned in Ballála's *Code of Kulinism*. It was the natural outcome of the law enacted by him. The first step towards degradation is giving daughters to a *Srotriya*, and the end or the *finalé* is the birth of a *Vansaja* in the seventh generation,* than whom there is, or can be, no being more degraded in the scale of the Bráhmāna society.† Whether King Ballála foresaw this dire result, or not, cannot be said with any degree of certainty. But the fact remains a telling one, and lowers him in our estimation of his foresight as a social reformer. The bases of his law were not sound, for he committed the grand mistake of making *Kulinism* hereditary, knowing, as a sensible man, or a monarch in his position should have been aware, that social laws, when made so binding and stringent, cannot survive the revolution of time. It is simply giving a monopoly to hold a Kulin rank to a few individual families for perpetuity. It is impossible that the nine qualities could exist in the Kulins from generation to generation. It is doubtful whether they existed in perfection in the first recipients of *Kulinism*. The majority of the Kulin Bráhmānas of the present day are a body of illiterate, conceited, and selfish persons, who are a source of shame to the Bráhmāna community. They repeat the *gáyitri* daily without being able to tell what its meaning is. There are, however, honourable exceptions, but their proportion to the whole Bráhmāna community is very small.

* This is accepted as correct by the learned *Pandits* and *Ghataks*; but, according to some, a *Bhanga Kulin* becomes a *Vansaja* in the fifth generation. Thus we have—"In the fifth generation after the first act by which a Kulin of the first-class has fallen into the second-class, *i.e.*, has become a *Bhanga Kulin*, he falls into the third class (the *Vansaja*)."—C. Hobhouse in *Gazette of India*, 1867, page 283.

† From the time of Devívara, the *Vansajas* have obtained an improved position in the scale of society, and are no longer looked upon with contempt.

When King Ballála instituted *Kulinism*, he took care to separate the original Bráhmaṇas of Bengal, consisting of 700 families (*saptasatī*), and prohibited intermarriage between them and his own favourites.

The names of the first recipients of the honours of first grade *Kulinism* are given below :—

| <i>Gotra.</i> | <i>Vansa or family.</i> | <i>Names of recipients.</i> |
|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Kásyapa | 1. Chatta | 1. Vahurúpa. |
| | | 2. Sukha. |
| | | 3. Aravinda. |
| | | 4. Haláyudha. |
| | | 5. Bángála. |
| 2. Vátsya | 2. Putitunda | 6. Govardhanáchárya. |
| | 3. Ghosála | 7. Siva. |
| | 4. Kánjilála | 8. Kánu. |
| | | 9. Kutúhala. |
| 3. Sávarna | 5. Gánguli | 10. Sisu. |
| | 6. Kundagrámí | 11. Roshákara. |
| 4. Sándilya | 7. Vandya | 12. Mahesvara. |
| | | 13. Jáhlana. |
| | | 14. Devala. |
| | | 15. Vámana. |
| | | 16. I'sána. |
| 5. Bharádvāja | 8. Mukhatí | 17. Makaranda. |
| | | 18. Utsáha. |
| | | 19. Garuda. |

Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his "History of Civilization in Ancient India," (vol. iii., page 246), supposes "that Ballála only gave his sanction to distinctions and rules which had already grown up among the different classes of Bráhmaṇas and Káyasthas." But the records of the institution of *Kulinism*, which have come down to us, speak otherwise, and clearly fix upon him the responsibility of having been the originator of the institution.

Ballála Sena was succeeded by his son Lakshmana Sena. Following in the footprints of his father, he too introduced certain social changes among the Radhí Bráhmaṇas, by creating separate sub-divisions of the descendants of the five original Bráhmaṇas, according to their distance from the five patriarchs, and according to the degree of religious observances among them. This adjustment is known by the term *Samíkarana*.

It is an historical fact that Lakshmaniya* was the last independent king of Gauda. During the latter part of his reign, the Mahomedans, under Bukhtear Khiliji, attacked him in his palace, and the old and weak monarch at once fled the capital without even a show of resistance (A.D. 1198).

* The correct name of this prince is Lakshmana Sena, *alias* Asoka Sena. He was the fifth in descent from Ballála. The Mahomedan writers call him Lakshmaniya, through contempt for his weakness and cowardice.

Bengal thus fell into the hands of the followers of Islamism without a struggle. We are not at all surprised at this, for both Ballála and his successors were weak princes, who passed a good deal of their time in making social innovations, bestowing honours and grants on Bráhmaṇas, degrading the Vaisyas to the level of the Súdras, and exalting the social status of the Káyasthas. The records of their reign, both written and traditional, which have come down to us, do not at all show that they ever made any reforms in their army, or bestowed any honours on those who distinguished themselves by military achievements, if such ever took place during their reign. Among the ancient A'ryas the Bráhmaṇas, it is true, were respected as gods, but the Kshatriyas, and the Vaisyas too, were honoured and allowed privileges denied to their descendants in later times. A nation's fall is not the work of a day. We cannot suppose that Bukhtear Khiliji 'came and saw and conquered,' unless we suppose, at the same time, that the Hindu monarchy in Bengal was a mere shadow and had lost its vitality. The monarchs of Bengal busied themselves in making social innovations when the Moslems were thundering at the gates of Hindustan and had already gained a footing in Western India. It is no wonder that the fate of Bengal should have been sealed in a hundred years from King Ballála's reign.

The institution of *Kulinism* established by Ballála continued unchanged for about four hundred years,* when, in the fifteenth century of the Christian era, Devívara† re-organized the whole fabric of the institution. He introduced 36 *mels*, or consociations, among the Radhí Bráhmaṇas, of which a list is given below :—

- | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1. Fulia. | 13. Mádhai. | 25. Ráya. |
| 2. Khaddaha. | 14. Vidyádhari. | 26. Chattarághavi. |
| 3. Ballabhi. | 15. Parial or Parihal. | 27. Dehātiya or Dehati. |
| 4. Sarvánandí. | 16. Srírangabhattí. | 28. Chhayí. |
| 5. Surai. | 17. Máládharakhaní. | 29. Bhairavaghatki. |
| 6. Acháryasekharí. | 18. Kákusthí. | 30. Achamvita. |
| 7. Panditaratní. | 19. Harimajumdarí. | 31. Dharádhari. |
| 8. Bāngalapāsa. | 20. Srimantakhaní. | 32. Rāghavaghosálí. |
| 9. Gopálaghatki. | 21. Pramodíní. | 33. Sungasarvánandí. |
| 10. Chháyanarendrí. | 22. Dasarathaghatki. | 34. Satánandakhání (or Sadánandakhání). |
| 11. Bijayapandití. | 23. Subharájkhaní. | 35. Chandrapati (or Chandravati). |
| 12. Chándai. | 24. Nadiya. | 36. Balí. |

* It is said that, in the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, Rájá Danuja Raya, *alias* Danauja Mádhava, made certain changes in *Kulinism*, but they did not continue long.

† Devívara was a contemporary of Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava reformer of Nadiá (Navadvipa). His father was Sarvánanda Ghatak, who, as a Vansaji, carried on the profession of a *Ghatak*. Devívara followed the occupation of his father.

Some branch *mels*, such as, Srivardhaní, Siddhantí, Theká, Nijanrendrí, &c., have since been created after Devívara.

The *mels* were created according to the degree of blemishes, or faults, attached to each family; and, although now and then modified, they remain intact to the present day. In consultation with other *Ghataks* of his time, Devívara permitted the Radhí Kulins to contract marriages in three ways, which are technically called আৰ্টি (Artti), ক্ষেম্যক (Kshemyaka), and উচিত (Uchita). *Adána* and *pradána** with persons of the father's *paryáya*† are called *Artti*; those with persons of the son's *paryáya* are called *Kshemyaka*; while those with persons of equal *paryáya* are known by the term *Uchita*. Of these, *Artti kul* stands, as it were, an ornament of the head, *Kshemyaka* an ornament of the foot, while the *Uchita* is neither the one nor the other, and is deemed what is proper.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the reforms which Devívara made among the Radhí Bráhmaṇas. Suffice it to say that, according to Devívara's regulations, all the blemishes or faults of a particular family disappear, if it can connect itself by *adána* or *pradána* with a pure Kulin family. It is only when a pure Kulin gives his daughters to a Srotriya, that he falls off from his rank and becomes a *Vansaja*. Before the time of Devívara, the position of the *Vansajas* was a very degraded one, but as Devívara himself was a *Vansaja*, he assigned to the *Vansaja* a position just below the Kulins and above the Srotriyas, which he retains till the seventh generation, when he stands on the same level with the Srotriyas.

About a hundred years before Devívara, the celebrated Udayanáchárya Bhádudí thoroughly re-organised the institution of *Kulinism* among the Várendra Bráhmaṇas. He was assisted in his labours by Kullúka Bhatta, Mayúra Bhatta, and Mangala Ojhá. Briefly stated, his reforms were that the Kulins should reciprocally make *adána* and *pradána*, and might take in Srotriya daughters, but could not give their own daughters to Srotriyas. The *adána* and *pradána* among the Kulins is technically called *parivartta-maryádá*. At the time of making promises both parties are enjoined to go to the river side, or to a lake or pond, attended by relatives and friends and by the *Ghatak*, and there ratify them by touching an earthen jug (কলশ) filled with water, which is afterwards sunk into the water. This is technically called *adána-pradána bishayaka-karana*.

* *Adána* (আদান) is taking or receiving girls, and *pradána* (প্রদান) is giving away girls.

† *Paryáya* is the degree in which the descendants of a particular person, or persons, stand to each other.

Udayanáchárya divided the Várendra Kulins into eight branches or *patís*. They are :—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Nirávila. | 5. Veni. |
| 2. Bhusaná. | 6. Alókhání. |
| 3. Rohilá. | 7. Kutubkhaní. |
| 4. Bhavanípura. | 8. Jonáli. |

He strictly forbade all communication with the *káps*.* But the rigidity of this rule was afterwards relaxed by Rájá Kansanaráyana.

The Várendra families, which received the honours of *Kulinism* at the hands of King Ballála, are—

- | | |
|------------|----------------|
| 1. Rudra. | 4. Maitra. |
| 2. Sádhu. | 5. Bhádudí. |
| 3. Láhidi. | 6. Sungjáminí. |
| 7. Bhíma. | |

The Radhí and the Várendra Bráhmanas are both descendants of the five Bráhmanas who came to Bengal at the invitation of A'disúra, as their *gotras* and traditions show, but there is no *adána-pradána* between them. This is what it should not be.

There is a tendency observable on the part of the Radhí Bráhmanas to treat the Várendras as not of their kiths and kins. They say that outside the pale of the five *gotras* and fifty-six *gnáis* there are no Bráhmanas at all. This proud assertion cannot be too strongly reprehended. It is this spirit of disunion and dissension which has proved a curse, not only to Bengal, but to the whole continent of India.

THE KSHATRIYAS.

Next to the Bráhmanas stand the Kshatriyas in the scale of society. According to Manu, the duties of a Kshatriya are "to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Vedas), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures."† Very little of these duties are, or can be, performed by the Kshatriyas of the present day. The destiny of India has long passed away from the hands of the A'ryas, and with it the duty of protecting the people. It is said that there are no Kshatriyas in the *Kali Yuga*, they having been extirpated by Parasuráma in twenty-one engagements and in the affray of the Yádavas. But this is not admitted by all, nor can it be accepted as an historical fact. There can be no question that there are Kshatriyas at the present day, descendants of those mighty warriors and chiefs who were at one time the pride of the country, though they, too, like the Bráhmanas, have betaken themselves to professions foreign to

* Among the Várendra Bráhmanas, the *káps* hold a position similar to that held by the *Vansajas* among the Radhí Bráhmanas.

† Manu, Chap. I., verse 9.

their caste. The Kshatriyas of the present day trace their descent from the following celebrated families :—

| <i>Family.</i> | <i>Place.</i> |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Súrya vansa (solar race)... | ... Ajodhyá (Oudh). |
| Chandra vansa (lunar race) | ... Magadha (Behar). |
| Yadu vansa ... | ... Mathura and Dwarká. |
| Nága vansa ... | ... Sindhu (Sind). |
| Agnikul ... | ... Rájasthána. |
| Ráthore ... | ... Ujjayiní (Oujein). |
| Kuru vansa ... | ... Hastina (Delhi). |
| Garga vansa ... | ... Rilwar (Ulwar ?) |
| Ranakul ... | ... Udayapura (Oodeypore). |

These families are reckoned as Kulins possessing the highest pedigree in the scale of the Kshatriya society.

Properly speaking, there are no Bengali-Kshatriyas, like Bengali-Bráhmanas, although the number of Kshatriya families permanently domiciled in Bengal may be considerable.

When Mahárájá Krishna Chandra Ráya, of Nadiá, performed the celebrated *Agnihoṭra* and *Bajapeya yajná*, about 140 years ago, he presented *Mályachandana** to one Virendra Sinha Varmana, son of a certain relative of Mahárájá Tilukchand of Burdwan. This fact proves that there are Kshatriyas in Bengal and recognised as the second caste in the scale of society. But many of such Kshatriyas are disowned by their countrymen in Western India. The Mahárájá of Burdwan, a real Kshatriya, hailing from the Punjab, with all his wealth and high position, finds it difficult at times to contract alliances with the high families of the Upper Provinces. But this does not prove that there is any lack of pure and high Kshatriya families in the ranks of the Bengali society. Migration from one part of the country to another, from one province to another, or from the North-West to the low swampy but rich lands of Bengal Proper, is always easy and natural. The chief causes that lead people to move out of their homes for 'fresh fields and pastures new' are overpopulation, struggle for life, poverty, a spirit of adventure, or an ambition to rise in the world. It is against nature to suppose that these motives were not in operation in shaping the action of any other class of people than the Bráhmanas and Súdras, or that they were not the same active factors in instigating the movements of the Kshatriyas or the Vaisyas. The theory that when Bengal emerged from the sea and

* This *yajná*, or sacrifice performed according to the Vedic rites, was celebrated at a total cost of 20 lakhs of rupees. All the learned Pandits of Bengal and of other provinces of India were invited to partake of their share of gifts and presents. It is customary in a sacrifice of this kind to honour the representatives of each of the three higher castes with presentation of *mályá* (garland of flowers) and *chandana* (sandal wood, rubbed) in the presence of the congregated assembly.

became fit for human habitation, it was populated only by the Bráhmanas and Súdras, and not by Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, is at once preposterous and unnatural. That of the castes that make up the population of Bengal, the Bráhmanas and Súdras were alone driven out of their nest in the Upper Provinces, and that Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were under an embargo, or not at liberty to move to and live in Bengal, is an assertion that must be dismissed as utterly incredible and foolish. On the other hand, it is an indisputable fact that traditions and scraps of history that have come down from remote times prove that Kshatriyas and Vaisyas formed principal elements of the Bengali population, and that the pure Súdra class was hardly in existence, or bore any great proportion to the other three classes, * and that the Súdras that we at present see as the bulk of the population were originally Vaisyas, and that the causes that have led to their degradation and effacement as a distinct class from the stock of the original castes are artificial and imaginary. We shall endeavour to show how, step by step, they became merged in the Súdra class, and the name of Vaisyas was effaced from their descendants. The Chattris differ from the Kshatriyas. They assert, at least some of them maintain, that they are superior to the Kshatriya class, though they do not deny that they belong to the category of the second twice-born caste. But without entering in the merits of this social dispute among a certain class of people, we may state, as a fact, that in Bengal the Chattri class forms but an insignificant portion of the population. The distinguished family of the Roys of Chakdighi, whose first patriarch rose to opulence from the post of a Police Jamádar of the Jehanabad Tháná, is one of the few families of Chattris who consider themselves distinguished from, and superior to, Kshatriyas. We have only to refer to the ranks of the army, and the immense body of durwans and keepers of the watch and guardians of peace, and heroes of petty skirmishes engaged in the service of the Rájás, Zamindárs, Nobles and the middle class families of Bengal, to prove that the proportion of Kshatriyas including Chattris, to the bulk of the population, is not so little as it is supposed by certain theorists.

THE VAISYAS.

According to Manu the duties of a Vaisya are "to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Vedas), to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land." †

* It is a question whether the pure Súdra class ever existed in Bengal. In the North-Western Provinces, it is said there are no Súdras, or at least the name Súdra is not recognized or used. Who the pure Súdras originally were is rather difficult to determine.

† Manu, Chap. I., verse 90.

The Bráhmaṇas say that in the *Kali Yuga* there are no Kshatriya and Vaisya castes at all, all classes of people other than themselves being Súdras. The cause of this bold and vain-glorious assertion is not far to seek and find out. During the Pauranik Period (500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.), when Buddhism showed indelible signs of decay and ultimately succumbed, being driven out of the country, the Bráhmaṇas once more regained their ancient rights and ascendancy, and, in their zeal to keep the people in thralldom, so that they might not again become renegades from the Hindu religion, they proclaimed that "all who were not Bráhmaṇas were Súdras ; that none but Bráhmaṇas were entitled to religious knowledge, or could perform sacred rites, or wear the sacred thread."* Various Puráṇas and Upapuráṇas were mainly written at this time to supply a coarse form of religious knowledge to the people, and ancient stories and legends artfully incorporated in them to divert their mind from true knowledge, which was once their heritage in common with the Bráhmaṇas. The Bráhmaṇas had the law in their hands, which they altered, or interpreted, according to their own pleasure. The Vaisyas were dragged to the court of law for reciting the Vedic texts, and there punished for transgressing the law. The Institutes of Manu were, in theory, accepted as the fountain of all law, civil and religious, but, in practice, trampled under the feet. Spurious digests of law were prepared and promulgated, and spurious passages artfully interwoven, to prove the transcendental superiority of the Bráhmaṇas, on the one hand, and the degradation of the Vaisyas, on the other. The Bráhma-Vaivartta and other Puráṇas, which are undoubtedly the productions of later times, give a quite different version from Manu of the origin of the various mixed castes, and tell us long stories of evils befalling Rájás or Princes from the wrath of Bráhmaṇas offended knowingly or unknowingly. To the Vaisyas of Manu, a position equal to, or lower than, the Súdras, was assigned, and a higher one to certain mixed classes. The Mahommedan conquest of the country completed the downfall of the nation, and, like the Kshatriya, the Vaisya class too was treated as *non est*.

This picture of the social and moral degradation of the people is not ideal. The more we examine the history of the Pauranik Period, especially of the later times, the more we are convinced of the guiles of the Bráhmaṇas to degrade the people, especially the independent class, socially and morally. We have already said that we cannot admit that, when the country now known as Bengal was first settled by the A'ryas, it was the Bráhmaṇas and Súdras only who came and dwelt there. The

* R. C. Dutt's "Civilization in Ancient India," Vol. III., page 498.

very economy of society required that Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, too, should accompany the migration. We cannot suppose that the fields of Bengal yielded harvests without manure and toil on the part of the cultivators, who, as we have seen before, were no other than the Vaisyas. We cannot suppose that there were none to rear and tend the cattle—a duty which, according to Manu, was the exclusive right of the Vaisyas. We cannot suppose, also, that there were no merchants, dealers in gold and jewels, and cloth and perfumes, and condiments. It is absurd to say that there are no Vaisyas in the present age. It may be, as is very often said, that there were Vaisyas in past times, but that they have ceased to be so now, and have merged in the Súdra class. We cannot admit this proposition without admitting, at the same time, that the Vaisyas have been robbed of their rights and privileges by a ruthless hand—by an act of Vandalism, which surpasses in cruelty all the slave-trade of Africa and America! That Vaisyas there were and still are cannot be questioned. We know that in Hindustan Proper there are Vaisyas who still wear the sacred thread and are reckoned among the twice-born castes. The reverse is the case in Bengal, where they are not so reckoned.

The fundamental principle on which Manu based his legislation in respect to the classification of the A'ryas was fixity and immutability of the organism into which he divided the four primary castes. He ordained that each caste must stand by itself distinct and separate from the other. The rules he prescribed for the social observance of each, and the law of marriage that he enacted for them all, must be strictly adhered to. Each caste must confine itself to certain professions that he had assigned to it, and his laws must not be deviated from on pain of forfeiture of the status which belonged to the caste. He ordained that the Bráhmāna shall teach and study the Veda, sacrifice for his own benefit and for others, and give and accept alms, and shall also be the spiritual head of the nation. The Kshatriya must protect the people and exercise the military duties with precision : he must be the guardian of public peace, and must protect the country against foreign invasion or internecine warfare. To the Vaisyas were assigned certain professions which they must follow ; and he defined those professions in a way that left no room for doubt or debate. There may be divisions of labour in the exercise of a particular profession, but the rule was that the duties of those divisions should be performed by the people of the same caste, who may remain as a separate and distinct class. Service to all the three superior castes was the lot given to the Súdras. Why Manu banished them to this low and

degraded position is a problem that has not yet been solved. We may refer to the question hereafter, but at present we are concerned with the Vaisyas, and we find the immutable rule to be that, once a Bráhmāna, he will remain a Bráhmāna for ever. He does not lose his caste whether he is able to utter the Vedas or not. A Kshetriya will remain a Kshatriya, whether he can wield his arrows or not, or use his *tira-dhanuka** or not. In the same way a Vaisya will remain a Vaisya, whether he follow his profession or not. A Vaisya, for instance, who is an agriculturist, will remain a Vaisya, whether he tilled the field or not. The Vaisyas may be divided into sub-castes, but whether they lend money, or carry on a particular trade, or produce a particular ware, they will remain Vaisyas for ever. Persons of other castes will not be recognised as Vaisyas if they usurp a profession that belonged to the Vaisyas. Thus a Vaisya whose first ancestor started a particular profession clings to that profession from generation to generation, and thus the several professions became hereditary and were crystallised into a distinct and separate class, or division, but Vaisyas they remained whether a Sad-gópa, or Bania, or a Tántuváya in profession. The Vaisyas are competent to adopt the following professions, which we give here from the ninth chapter of the Mánava-Dharma-Shástra :—

প্রজাপতির্হি বৈশ্যায় সৃষ্ট্বাপরিদদে পশূন্ ।
 ব্রাহ্মণায় চ রাজে চ সর্কীঃ পরিদদে প্রজাঃ ॥
 ন চ বৈশ্যস্য কামঃ স্যন্নরক্ষেয়ম্পশূনিতি ।
 বৈশ্যে চৈচ্ছতি নাত্তেনরক্ষিতব্যঃ কথং চন ॥
 মণিমুক্তাপ্রবালানাং লোহানাস্তাস্তৃপসাচ ।
 গন্ধানাং চ রসানাং চ বিদ্যাদর্শবলাবলম্ ॥
 বীজানামুষ্ণিবিষ্ণুস্যাং ক্ষেত্রদোষগুণস্য চ ।
 মানযোগং চ জানীয়াত্তূলাযোগাংশ্চ সর্কশঃ ॥
 সারাসারং চ ভাণানান্দেশানাং চ গুণাগুণান্ ।
 লাভালাভং চ পণ্যানাম্পশূনাম্পরিবর্জনম্ ॥
 ভূত্যানাং চ ভূতিং বিদ্যাভাষাশ্চ বিবিধানৃণাম্ ।
 দ্রব্যানাং স্থানযোগাংশ্চ ক্রয়বিক্রয়মেব চ† ॥

Prajápati made over cattle to the Vaisyas : to the Bráhmānas and to the King he entrusted all created beings. A Vaisya must never conceive the wish, 'I will not keep cattle,' nor, he being willing to keep them, must they by any means be kept by men of another class. He must know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of coral, of

* *Tira*=arrow and *dhanuka*=bow. † Manu, Chap. IX. verses 327-332

metals, of (cloth) made of thread, of perfumes, and of condiments. He must be acquainted with the (manner of) sowing of seeds, and of the good and bad qualities of fields, and he must perfectly know all measures and weights. Moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of (different) countries, the (probable) profit and loss on merchandise, and the means of properly rearing cattle. He must be acquainted with the (proper) wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods, and (the rules of) purchase and sale.

These passages clearly define the duties of the Vaisya class, and we are enabled, with their help, to ascertain who the Vaisyas are in Bengal at the present day. Accordingly we find that the Sadgópas, the various classes of the Vaniks, and the Tántuváyas, whose original professions answer to the duties assigned by Manu to the Vaisyas, belong to the third twice-born caste. The cultivation of land and the keeping of cattle are the duties primarily assigned to the Sadgópas, who, in Bengal, represent a portion of the Vaisya caste, though those duties are now performed by other classes of people, such as the Hélé Kaivarttas, Chandálas, &c. It matters not *now-a-days* whether a Sadgópa follows his original profession or not. He is by birth a Sadgópa, and, therefore, belongs to a family of which the first patriarchs were Vaisyas, according to Manu's definition of the term, no matter how he earns his livelihood, whether by tilling the land, by lending money at interest, or by practising the medical profession, just as a Bráhmāna or a Kshatriya is at liberty to do the same. The same remarks apply to the several classes of the Vaniks* and the Tántuváyas,† who, with the Sadgópas, form the great Vaisya caste of Bengal. In the primitive state of the Aryan society, some of its members were, no doubt, obliged, for its welfare, or economy, to betake themselves to various professions, and their descendants, from generation to generation, were named after the particular profession, or professions, they chose to adopt. Under the Hindu monarchy, these professions, as a general rule, were respectively followed by the different branches of the Vaisya caste, but a change—a mighty change—came on with the establishment of the foreign rule, when the members of the four principal castes, out of sheer necessity, or self-interest, betook themselves to professions other than those followed by

* The several classes of Vaniks are Manivaniks, Suvarnavaniks, Gandhavaniks, Kansyavaniks and Sankhavaniks. Of these, Manivaniks are those who carry on trade in gems, pearls, coral, &c. ; Suvarnavaniks, those who deal in gold and silver ; Gandhavaniks, those who carry on trade in spices, condiments, &c. ; Kansyavaniks, those who deal in Kánsya (Kánsa, or bell-metal,) and are commonly known as Kánsaris ; and Sankhavaniks, those who deal in conches, shells, &c.

† Weaver caste of Bengal.

their ancestors. * Thus we find a Bráhmāna carrying on the professions of a Vaisya, or even worse than that, selling of wines and spirituous liquors; a Kshatriya also doing the same to obtain his livelihood; and a Vaisya of one class following the profession of another class. A Sadgopa, for instance, is seen rearing silk-worms and selling silk, or carrying on trade in cloth, once the exclusive profession of a Tántuvāya, and *vice versa*. As regards the Tántuvāyas, it may be said that their profession is coeval with the first dawn of civilisation among the A'ryas, long before any mercantile classes were formed among them. In fact it is cloth, in whatever form woven or used at first, that distinguished an A'rya from a barbarian. We need not here go the length of proving that the A'ryas, as a civilised people, wore clothes to cover the nudity of their body, which the barbarians do by stitching up leaves, or bark of trees and skin of animals. In the passages we have quoted from Manu, a part of the Vaisya's duty is described as knowing the value of cloth made of thread. The word 'তন্তু' (*tantu*) means a filament, or thread, either of cotton, or of silk, and the derivative 'তান্তব' (*tántava*) means what is made of thread, *i. e.*, cloth. A তন্তুবায় (*Tántuvāya*) is, therefore, one who prepares, or manufactures, cloth of cotton, or silk, and sells it in the market. In process of time, the Tántuvāyas established cloth-markets and carried on trade in cloth and silk.

We will further quote from Manu one or two other passages, showing that the great legislator included the Tántuvāyas in the Vaisya class. In the first place, he does not mention them in his almost exhaustive list of mixed castes, and it is proof positive, that they do not come under any such castes. They do not also come under the Súdra caste, as his mention of Tántuvāya's profession in the category of the Vaisya's duties clearly proves. The only verse in which the Tántuvāya is expressly mentioned is the following:—

তন্তুবায়েদশপলন্দদ্যাদেকপলাধিকম্ ।

অতোইনখাবর্তমানোদাপোহাদশকন্দম্ ॥

Manu, Chap VIII., verse 397.

"A weaver (who has received) ten palas (of thread) shall return (cloth weighing) one pala more; he who acts differently, shall be compelled to pay a fine of twelve (panas)."—Bühler.

Now a *pana*, or *kārshapana*, is made of eighty *rakticās* of copper (a *rakticā* being equal to three middle-sized barleycorns in weight).† Twelve *panas*, therefore, seem to be a very light fine

* Instances are not wanting of persons of one caste adopting the profession of another, even during the Hindu monarchy. Thus we read in the Mahābhārata that Dronācharya, a Bráhmāna by birth, and his son Asvatthámā, carried on the profession of a Kshatriya, *i. e.*, of arms.

† See Manu, Chap. VIII. verses 134-136.

for the offence which a strict lawgiver like Manu would not have prescribed for a Súdra, or a base-born person, had the weaver been such a one ; but being a Vaisya, a light punishment was prescribed.* Again, we are told in Chapter X. of the Mánava-Dharma-Shástra that in times of distress a Bráhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya, obliged to subsist by the acts of a Vaisya, must avoid selling—

সৰ্ব্বং চ তান্তবং রক্তং শাণকৌমাৰিকানিচ ।

অপিচেৎস্ব্যরক্তানি * * * * ॥

“ All woven cloth dyed red, cloth made of *sana*, of *kshuma* bark and of wool, even though not red ;”

This conclusively proves that a Vaisya is competent to sell woven cloth dyed red, cloth made of *sana* (hemp or flax), &c., which a Bráhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya, adopting the profession of the mercantile class, is prohibited from selling. The word ‘ Vaisya ’ is a general term, including different classes of people, each carrying on a part of the duties assigned to the whole Vaisya caste, and the Tántuváya is avowedly one of them. Cloth-manufacture cannot be considered a handicraft, or an art, by which a Súdra is recommended by Manu to support himself in times of distress, and these terms† are interpreted by the learned and able commentator Kullúka Bhatta to mean *joinery* and *masonry* and *painting* and *writing*, respectively.

The art of weaving is, therefore, an occupation of the Vaisyas according to Manu, and the selling of cloth a duty of that caste.

Again, the collection of wealth by a Súdra is strictly prohibited by Manu (Chap. X., verse 129), and therefore trade in cloth, which is undoubtedly a lucrative one, must be held to be the occupation of a Vaisya. The Tántuváyas, who, from time immemorial up to the close of the last century, had almost the monopoly of such trade in this country, belong, therefore, not to the Súdra, or any servile caste, but are component members of the great Vaisya class.

In the following pages we will show how the Vaisyas were deprived of their ancient rights and privileges, and how certain mixed classes were permitted to go ahead of them.

* Manu's partiality for the three twice-born castes is well known to every reader of the Mánava-Dharma-Shástra. Thus, a soldier defaming a priest shall be fined a hundred *panas*; a merchant thus offending, a hundred and fifty or two hundred ; but for such an offence, a mechanic or servile man shall be whipped. A priest shall be fined fifty *panas*, if he slander a soldier ; twenty-five if a merchant ; and twelve, if he slander a man of the servile class.—Manu, Chap. VIII., verses 267 and 268.

† The terms used by Manu are *কারুক্ষ্ম* and *শিল্প*, of which the English equivalents are mechanical occupations and practical arts. *Joinery* and *masonry* come under the first, and *painting* and *writing* under the second.

And first of all the Sadgópas, who, we have shown before, belong to the Vaisya caste. Their occupation was, from time immemorial—and is still now, to a great extent—the cultivation of land. In Central Bengal a good many of them are engaged in rearing silk-worms and selling raw silk, which was once done by the Tántuváyas. Many of the Sadgópas are well-to-do people, who, in course of time, have relinquished the tillage of land, and, betaking themselves to other branches of the duties assigned to the Vaisyas, such as lending money at interest, merchandise, &c., have risen to opulence. They count among them many rich Zamindárs and Rájás. Pandit Bharata Chandra Siromani, late Professor of *Smṛiti-shástra*, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, has expressed the following opinion regarding the Sadgópas :—"They are Vaisyas. Religious and political revolutions have made them Súdras. In the *Shástras* they are not spoken of as a mixed class. They follow all along the occupation of Vaisyas. Had there risen among them an influential Rájá, like the Rájá Rájvallabha, they would surely have remained complete Vaisyas. There is no doubt whatever that they belong to the Vaisya caste."

This language is clear enough. Pandit Bharata Chandra Siromani may, or may not, be considered as an authority in the present age, but as he has interpreted the true status of the Sadgópas from the *Shástras*, we do not hesitate to accept his opinion as really correct. The Sadgópas are now classed among the *Navasáyakas* (nine classes of people who are said to have helped Parasuráma in his twenty-one engagements against the Kshatriyas), and are treated as Súdras. During the Pauranik Period the Sadgópas were, no doubt, divested of their Vaisyaism, owing, probably to their neglect of the duties prescribed for them in the *Shástras*. Education is now spreading among them, and the time may come when they will, with the other classes of Vaisyas, regain their lost privileges—the privileges of Vaisyas as a twice-born caste. Mahárájá, Krishna Chandra Ráya, of Nadiá, when performing his celebrated *yajná*, alluded to before, presented *mályá* and *chándana* to one Narotama Pál, a Sadgópa by birth, as a representative of the Vaisya caste.

The Sadgópas are divided into two sub-castes—the *Paschim kuliya*, who live to the west of the river Bhágirathi, and the *Purva kuliya*, who live on the east side of that river. Of late, intermarriages have commenced to take place between these two groups, who have hitherto remained separate from each other.

The Sadgópas are generally spoken of as *Chásá*.* Their

* The word '*chásá*' literally means a ploughman. The term is now frequently applied to persons who are rough in their manners and conversation, and who lack the light of education.

family appellations, or titles, are Bákundi, Biswás, Dás, Ghosh, Kour, Neogy, Pál, Sarkár, Sur.

We shall next cite the instance of the Suvarnavaniks (Sonarbanias) who undoubtedly belong to the Vaisya caste, but who have, since the days of Ballála, been forcibly and improperly banished from the rank and position of Vaisyas, and who are at the present day treated by other castes as defiled and impure, and therefore unworthy to be touched.* In order to understand clearly their degraded position, it is necessary to go back about nine hundred years, when the Suvarnavaniks are said to have first come to Bengal and settled there.

There lived at Ramgarh, in Oude, a number of Vaisyas, of whom one Kusala Chandra Adhya, a millionaire, had three sons, named Sanaka, Sanátana, and Sanatkumára, who respectively carried on trade in gold, jewels, and perfumes and condiments. At that time Buddhism, though in a declining state, was still followed throughout the length and breadth of the country, and a good many of Sanaka's relatives were Buddhists. Sanaka, who was learned in the Vedas, finding it impossible to live amongst relatives who professed a religion quite opposed to his own, left his native land, accompanied by his wife Barátiká, by his family priest (*purohita*), by some of his kinsmen and friends who were of his own religion, and by a number of armed men. Having visited several holy places, he at last came to Bengal, and paid his respects to King Adisúra and expressed a desire to live in his kingdom. Adisúra, who hated Buddhism, very gladly acceded to the request of Sanaka, permitted him to settle on the banks of the river Brahmaputra, where Sanaka freely carried on trade in gold and silver with merchants of Arakan, Burma, China, and other countries, and very soon turned the place of his settlement into a wealthy and prosperous town. Adisúra, who was very much pleased to hear of Sanaka's success as a merchant, soon honoured him and his kinsmen with the title of Suvarnavanik † in a copper-plate grant, and called the town, founded by Sanaka, 'Suvarnagrám.' He also sought Sanaka's advice on many affairs of the State. It was at the advice of Sanaka that King Adisúra invited the five Bráhmanas learned in the Vedas from Kanouj.

* So great is the degradation that one who touches the shadow of a Sonarbania is bound to bathe and purge the sin. সোনারবেনের ছায়া মাড়াইলে স্নান করিতে হয় ।

† “স্বর্ণবাণিজ্যকারিত্বাদিত্ত্ববিশাং ময়া ।

সুবর্ণবাণিজ্যাত্মক্য দত্তা সম্মানরূপে ॥ ”

“In honour of the Vishas (Vaisyas), who carry on trade in gold at this place, I confer on them the title of Suvarnavanik.”

More than a century after, when King Ballála ascended the throne of Gauda, he carried on an expedition against the Manipur State. Before the commencement of the operations, Ballála's exchequer was rather low, and he was, therefore, obliged to take twenty lakhs of rupees on loan from one Ballabhánanda Adhya, a descendant of Sanaka, who was at that time master of fourteen crores of rupees. The expedition against the Manipuris having proved a failure, Ballála was again obliged to take five lakhs more from him, on condition of bringing the expedition to an end and of not taking any more loan. Ballabhánanda complied with the second request of the king. But fate decreed otherwise. Renewed attempts against the Manipuris having again proved a failure, Ballála was obliged a third time to ask for a loan of five lakhs more. Ballabhánanda, not only declined to comply with the request of the king, but wrote, in reply, that the king had committed a sinful act by not fulfilling his promises ; that it was a pure act of fortune that an Ambastha* should get a kingdom ; that it was for the Kshatriyas only to carry on wars ; that the present operations (against the Manipuris) were irreligious ; and that, therefore, the king had better bring them to an end. This bold reply on the part of Ballabhánanda incensed Ballála against the Suvarnavaniks, whom he determined to punish for the overbearing conduct of their leader. Moreover, Ballála had married, or rather had in his keeping, a very beautiful damsel of the *Dóm* class,† named Padminí, and a number of Suvarnavanik youngsters played a farce in which the queen appeared in her regal dress with a number of reeds in her hand preparing a basket. This conduct on the part of the Suvarnavaniks further enkindled Ballála's wrath against them. Further, the institution of *Kulinism* created by Ballála, and his division of castes according to his own whims, were not approved by the Suvarnavaniks. Again, the Vaidik Bráhmaṇas, who refused to be classified by a Vaidya, retired to the hill countries of Sylhet and Orissa, and some of them found refuge with the Suvarnavaniks. When Ballála's intrigues with the *Dóm* girl became known throughout the country, Prince Lakshmana Sena became very much aggrieved at his father's conduct, and not being able to bring him to his senses, at last separated himself from the father, and ordered the Vaidyas to put off their sacred thread, so that they might

* An Ambastha is a Vaidya born of a Bráhmaṇa father and Vaisya mother. The allusion is to the mixed class to which Ballála belonged.

† The *Dóms* are a very low class of people not worthy to be touched by persons of twice-born classes. Their principal occupation is preparing baskets, *dhama*, *dhuchuni*, &c.

not come in contact with the Vaidyas who still adhered to the king. Ballála at last came to his senses, discarded the *Dóm* girl, and made atonement for his sins by performing a *yajná*, in which the four principal castes were invited. The Suvarnavaniks, thinking that the king's sins were inextinguishable, did not, on some pretext or other, obey the royal invitation. When Ballála found that the Suvarnavaniks were the only class of his subjects absent from the *yajná*, his rage knew no bounds. He exclaimed the following words in the presence of the assembly: "Know, ye Brahmanas! my resolution that, if I do not enrol Ballabhá-nanda and other Suvarnavaniks amongst the low class of people, then the sin of killing a cow, a Bráhmāna, and a female, will be mine. As Bhíma Sena made a resolution to destroy the hundred sons of Dhritaráshtra, so my resolution be known to you all."* Henceforth Ballála sought for pretexts to bring the Suvarnavaniks within his clutches, and opportunities soon presented themselves for the fulfilment of his nefarious object. The author of "Ballála-Charita" says, that at the sacrifice performed by the king for the atonement of sins committed by him in taking the hand of the *Dóm* girl, a number of small cows made of gold were wrought out for the purpose of making gifts to Bráhmānas. By a pre-arrangement, one of these cows had in its womb a quantity of water tinged with lac-dye. The Bráhmāna who got this cow soon repaired to a Suvarnavanik for the purpose of selling it; The Suvarnavanik at once commenced examining it by striking it with an iron instrument (*chhāni*), when lo! red liquid oozed out of the wound like blood. The Bráhmāna at once spread out a report that the Bania (Suvarnavanik) had killed the cow which had become a live animal by *mantras*, and a credulous public was not slow in taking the story as a truth. The story flew fast from mouth to mouth, and soon reached the ears of the king. Another case occurred at the same time in which a Suvarnavanik was convicted of having received stolen property, to wit, another gold calf presented by Ballála to another Bráhmāna. On the strength of these two cases, Ballála passed an edict, declaring that the Suvarnavaniks had killed a cow and stolen gold, and degrading them to a level with the Súdras, and strictly forbade all classes of people, on penalty of being proscribed, from

* See "Ballála-Charita" by Ananda Bhatta. Bhíma Sena, the second brother of the five Pándavas, made a vow to destroy the hundred sons of Dhritaráshtra, the blind king, which he fulfilled in the open field in the celebrated wars between the Kurus and the Pándavas as recorded in the epic of Mahábhárata.

mixing in any way with them. At the same time he divested them of their sacred thread.*

These two cases, briefly told, show at once the futility of the grounds on which the Suvarnavaniks were proscribed by King Ballála. We still hear people talk of these stories when discussing the cause of the degradation of a section of the Vaisyas, who at one time had all the privileges of a twice-born class, but who up to the present day are treated with contempt and abhorrence by all other classes of people, especially in the Mufassil. An orthodox Bráhmāna, in the act of chewing *pān* (betel prepared with *chunam*, catechu, nut, &c.), happening unwittingly to touch a Suvarnavaink, would, on being apprised of the fact, immediately throw it out, wash his mouth, and repeat the *gāyitrī*, to purify himself. This fact sufficiently illustrates the degradation to which the Bráhmanas themselves have sunk in this age. But the punishment inflicted by Ballála on the Suvarnavaniks still remains a living scourge of that class of people, though more than seven hundred years have rolled away. In no other country of the world has a case parallel to that of the Suvarnavaniks been shown to exist. In Hindustan Proper the Suvarnavaniks are not out-castes, but treated with the respect due to the Vaisya class; it is only in Bengal that they are considered impure and not worthy to be touched. Ballála's wickedness is nowhere more openly displayed than in humbling to the dust the Suvarnavaniks, who, as bankers, or dealers in gold and silver, are never in want, or indigence, and who count amongst them a number of illustrious personages known for acts of liberality and patriotism. If we examine closely the case of the Suvarnavaniks, we come to the conclusion that they were proscribed, not for their alleged sin of killing cow and stealing gold, but for their independent spirit, which was regarded as overbearing conduct towards the king, who, as a Vaidya, occupied a lower position in the scale of society than the Suvarnavaniks, who were Vaisyas from time immemorial. The late Dr. Rajendralála Mitra has attempted to prove that Ballála was by birth a Káyastha. If his position is correct, then the object of a Káyastha king in putting down a class of people occupying a higher position in the social scale is quite patent.† We have

* See "Suvarnavanik," an ably written treatise in Bengali by Nimai Chánd Síl.

† Unfortunately the theory of Dr. Mitra that the Sen Rájás were not Vaidyas but Káyasthas, was too absurd, or glaringly opposed to history, to be accepted even by such a credulous people as the Bengalis. The idea was evidently drawn from certain interpolated passages in Colonel Gladwin's translation of the Ayeen Akbari about Kayth Rájás, which do not appear in Mr. Blochmann's translation. One fact alone will show the utter untenability of his proposition. If it was true that Ballála Sena had been a Káyastha, he would have taken care not to have Kulinized a Ghose, Bose, or a Mitra, to the exclusion of a Sen, Pál, or Dé.

seen before that, by instituting *Kulinism*, Ballála has opened a Pandora's box of evils and curses which directly concern the Bráhmaṇas and collaterally other classes of the community. His treatment of the Suvarnavaniks is an act of unparalleled despotism through which he still wields his chastening rod throughout the length and breadth of the province of Bengal.

The stories related above may not be true, or may have been exaggerated. We have nothing to do with the authenticity of this story, or the other; many of the incidents and statements, such as the possession of fourteen crores of rupees by Ballabhánanda, may be a fiction; but one fact remains—and it is an incontrovertible fact—that before Ballála, the Suvarnavaniks were one of the five branches of the Vanik class, who were Vaisyas, and who were held in the same light as other twice-born classes, but whatever the offence was, they were treated as felons by Ballála, a monarch who had no more right than the Mahommedan Nawáb who succeeded the Sena dynasty, to boycott a whole sect, or a class of good citizens, for the sins, if any, of a single member, or to inflict a punishment so monstrously unjust and illegal—an ostracism—possibly acting under the ægis of an arbitrary and pernicious hierarchy, and under the influence of evil counsellors. In the absence of a Hindu ruler after the Sena dynasty, this stigma, cast on a large and useful class, became permanent and indelible. No one, not even an independent Bráhmaṇa Zamindár, or even Raghunandana, found it in his interest, nor was it feasible for them, to remove this embargo from the caste. Nor did the Suvarnavaniks think of attempting to shake off the dust from their body. They are, like the Jew, more tenacious of money than susceptible to considerations of social respectability, or high social position.—Under the British Government—which is a leveller of rank and pedigree, which regards *murhi* and *michhri** in the same light, and considers a poor scion of an ancient family an object not worthy of notice or attention—the Suvarnavaniks have the satisfaction of feeling that a Nemesis has overtaken their tyrants, the Bráhmaṇas and their followers, as they are grovelling in the dust, while they, hated and shunned only fifty years ago, are enjoying the blessings which wealth and position bring in their train.

The infliction of unjust and unmerited punishment on the Suvarnavaniks by Ballála paralysed for a time the whole structure of the Suvarnavanik community. Ballabhánanda and a good many of his kinsmen and relatives left Bengal and passed the remainder of their life at Puri (Srikshettra, or Jagannátha). The god Jagannátha Déva still wears on his

* Parched rice and sugar-candy.

forehead the precious diamond presented by Ballabhánanda and known as "A'dhya-manik." Many other Suvarnavaniks left Suvarnagrám to live at Gauda, under the protection of Lakshmana Sena ; while the rest, unable to wind up their trade, or affairs, were obliged to live at Suvarnagrám, conforming themselves to the unjust law passed by Ballála. It is said that it was about this time that the Suvarnavaniks were stripped of their thread.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century of the Christian era, we find the Suvarnavaniks carrying on trade at Karjaná near Burdwan, at Jessore, and at Saptagrám near Hughli. The Mussulman Nawábs and Soubadars conferred on them the titles of Ráya, Mallik, Khán, Chaudhuri, Shah, &c., which the descendants of the first recipients of those titles still hold. One of them Ajvara Khán Mallik (commonly known as A'jár Khán) was honoured with a *khilut* and other presents by a Mahommedan ruler. It was he who prepared, or caused to be prepared, a return of the Suvarnavaniks, and classified them according to their *kul*, or family. About the year 1537 A. D. A'jár Khán died and his *sráddha* ceremony was performed with great *eclát* by his sisters' sons, because he left no male issue. Owing to the danger attendant on the journey from Saptagrám to Karjaná in those days, the Suvarnavaniks of Saptagrám could not attend the *sráddha* ceremony of A'jár Khán performed at Karjaná. The Suvarnavaniks who attended the *sráddha* ceremony were from that day known as the Radhí class, while those living at Saptagrám, who could not so attend, were styled the Saptagrámí class. This distinction is purely accidental, without any real difference. About 56 years ago the Suvarnavaniks held a meeting, in which the opinions of the learned Pandits of Bengal, Benares and Dravída were obtained, to the effect that they were Vaisyas and that they could wear the sacred thread, and many Suvarnavanik lads actually put on the sacred thread (*paita*) ; but this was soon after discontinued, in consequence of want of sympathy from the other Vaisya classes. In this age we do not care whether they wear the holy thread, or not, but should be rather glad to see them resist a little more strenuously the passive and pretentious antagonism of the mixed Súdra class and exact the respect due to the Vaisya caste.

The family titles of the Suvarnavaniks are—A'dhya, Badal, Bardhan, Chandra, Datta, Dé, Dhar, Láhá, Mallik, Mandal, Nandí, Náth, Pál, Rai, Sen, Síl, Sinha, &c. And their *gotras* are—A'lamyána, Bháradvája, Brahma-Rishi, Gautama, Kásyapa, Maudgalya, Nág-Rishi, Parásara, Sávarna, Sándilya, Suresvarí, and Vyása.

Other classes of Vaniks are—Manivanik,* Gandhavanik, Kánsyavanik (Kánsári) and Sánkhavanik (Sánkhari). Of these, Manivaniks are not traceable in Bengal in the present day ; probably they are merged in the Suvarnavaniks ; indeed we have seen before that Kusala's three sons respectively carried on trade in gold, jewels and perfumes. It would seem, therefore, that the Manivaniks, Suvarnavaniks, and Gandhavaniks have all sprung from one common stock ; but in the absence of more direct evidence other than a mere casual mention that Kusala's three sons carried on three sorts of trade, we are not warranted in stating anything with certainty. The Gandhavaniks claim to be a branch of the ancient Vaisyas, and with good reason. Manu assigns to them a position among the Vaisyas, as we have seen before. They claim descent from Chánd Saudagar of Pauranik celebrity, but we are not quite certain of this. Some say that the Gandhavaniks are the offspring of a Vaidya father and a Rájput mother ; others, that they were born of Sree Krishna by Kubjá, the hunch-backed slave-girl of Rájá Kansa ; while others say that they were created by Siva from his forehead. All these stories may have some truth in them ; but the Gandhavaniks, whose profession is defined by Manu in unmistakeable terms, are not affected thereby. In Bengal, the Gandhavaniks are ranked among the Puntulis, an alleged branch of the Nava-Sáyakas, owing to their making bundles of spices, drugs, groceries, &c., which they sell. But their name does not occur in the vulgar couplet about the Nava-Sáyakas commonly ascribed to Parásara, as we shall hereafter see. Probably when the couplet, which must be of recent origin, was written, the Gandhavaniks were left out, because they still retained their Vaisyaism ; the term 'Puntuli' being subsequently introduced to denote those classes of people whose profession, or occupation, obliged them to make bundles of the articles they sold, as thread, spices, kaudis, shells, conches, articles made of brass or kánsa (a mixed metal), &c.

The family titles of the Gandhavaniks are—Datta, Dán, Dhar, Kar, Nág, Khán, Láhá, Sáhá, Sádhu, &c. And their *gótras* are—A'lamyána, Bháradvája, Kásyapa, Krishnatreya, Maudgalya, Nrisinha, Rásh-Rishi, Sávarna, and Sándilya.

The Kánsyavaniks (Kánsáris) and the Sankhavaniks (Sánkharis), other branches of the Vanik class, are also enrolled among the Puntulis, and the remarks we have recorded above as respects the Gandhavaniks apply to them also. We have no direct evidence to show that these Vaniks were deprived of their Vaisyaism by Ballála Sena. Probably they were classed among the Súdras before his time ; and it was left for him to complete what could not be done before, *viz.*, humiliating the

* A Vanik who carries on trade in jewels.

Suvarnavaniks, whom it was very difficult to deal with owing to their opulence.

Ethnologically, the Suvarnavaniks, the Gandhavaniks, the Kánsyavaniks and the Sánkhavaniks are A'ryas. Their religion is generally Vaishnavism as preached by Chaitanya. The Bráhmanas will drink water at the hands of the Vaniks, except the Suvarnavaniks. The religions and other ceremonies of the Suvarnavaniks are performed by *eka-jatiya* Bráhmanas, or Bráhmanas ministering only to a particular class, who are not employed by other classes; for these Bráhmanas, it is said, have shared in the degradation attached to the Suvarnavaniks.

We have proved already that the Sadgópas, the different classes of the Vaniks, and the Tantuváyas represent the great Vaisya caste of Bengal, and we have also given a very brief account of the first two classes. We will now give a short account of the Tantuváya caste of Bengal.

A good deal of misapprehension prevails as regards the origin and status of this useful class of people. We have seen before that originally there was no distinction of caste among the A'ryas; that all the people were of one caste; and that in later times, as necessity arose, the great Aryan nation divided itself into four principal castes with a number of sub-divisions in each. Call them by any name you please, as the Bráhmanas, the Kshatriyas, or the Vaisyas, they formed a compact body of people of the same creed and colour and had one common interest to seek, *viz.*, the advancement of the Aryan nation as a whole. In process of time, intermarriages, which were at one time common among them, were put an end to by legislation. Even in the time of Manu, or more correctly when Manu's laws were collected in their present form by Bhrigu, a Bráhmana, after marrying a girl of his own caste, was at liberty to marry a female of the Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Súdra caste. A Kshatriya, too, after marrying a girl of his own caste, could marry a female of either of the two castes below him. Similarly, a Vaisya could, after marrying a girl of the Vaisya caste, take a female of the Súdra caste as his second wife.* It is not improbable that when the A'ryas found the

* সৰ্বণাশ্ৰেণীজাতীনামিশ্রশস্তানারকৰ্ম্মণ ।
কামতন্তুপ্রবৃত্তানামিমাঃ স্ত্রীঃ ক্রমশোইবরা ॥
শূদ্রেব ভাৰ্য্যাশূদ্রস্য সাচস্বাচবিশঃস্বতে ।
তেচস্বাচেবরাজশচচতাস্বাচাঐজন্মনঃ ॥

Manu, Chap. VIII., verses 12 & 13.

For the first marriage of the twice-born classes, a woman of the same class is recommended; but for such as are impelled by inclination to marry again, women in the direct order of the classes are to be preferred.

A Súdra woman only must be the wife of a Súdra; she and a Vaisyaní, of a Vaisya; they two and a Kshatriyaní, of a Kshatriya; those three and a Bráhmaní, of a Bráhmana.—Sir W. Jones (modified).

necessity of wearing clothes, a number of them applied themselves to the art of weaving, which must have been a very knotty problem to solve at first. We have no authentic history to show whether the A'ryas who took up this particular branch of the public duty, were Bráhmanas, Kshatriyas, or Vaisyas. That they were not Súdras we are quite certain, for no one can conceive the idea that a man of the servile class, whose position and duties are very clearly defined by Manu, could be found capable of performing the arduous task imposed upon him. Probably before the migration of the A'ryas from the plains of Central Asia, and before the four distinctive castes were formed, a number of them followed the art of weaving for the supply of clothes to the Aryan people ; * for we cannot suppose that the A'ryas, when they entered the plains of Brahmavartta, came in a nude state, or wore skins of animals, like the aborigines of the country. In later times these A'ryas were regarded as a separate class, and put by Manu in the category of the Vaisyas, and called Tantuváyas, from the profession they adopted. The first projectors of the art of weaving were, therefore, in all probability, persons having the same common parentage with the Bráhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas.

The theory of the origin of the Tantuváyas thus briefly delineated is at once natural and reasonable. But we cannot refrain from alluding here to a tradition, which is still current in the country as regards their origin. The tradition runs thus :—There was a time when the gods themselves had no clothes to wear : they put on bark of trees to cover their nakedness. Indra, King of the Heavens, once invited the gods to a sumptuous feast. When the gods had seated themselves in rows, Sachí, the queen-consort of Indra, honoured them by distributing the delicacies with her own hand. While thus engaged, the bark which she wore round her waist loosened and fell off, thus exposing her person to the gaze of the guests. Abashed at this incident, the gods, with Indra as their foreman, unable to come to any decision as to the best means of preventing a similar awkward accident in future, went at first to Brahmá, and then to Vishnu, but the problem of providing a decent covering which would sit tightly but lightly on the body was not solved. At last they came to Siva, the third godhead of the Hindu Trinity, and represented the matter for his consideration. Siva thought over the matter a little, and with the advice of his consort, Bhaváni, performed a burnt sacrifice. From the sacred fire

* The art of weaving is referred to in the Rik and Atharva Vedas, thus proving, beyond doubt, its origin in a pre-historic time.

proceeded a full grown man, whom the gods called Siva Dása, or servant of Siva, and whom Siva himself commanded to prepare clothes for the celestial host. But as there were no cotton-trees in those days, Hanumána was commanded to bring in the eight fiery eyes of a giant, named Kalpásura,* who lived on a mountain. Those eyes, when planted in the ground, were said to produce cotton-trees. Hanumána fulfilled his mission, but could only lay before Siva and Bhaváni five eyes, as he had lost three on the way. The eyes were planted from which sprung cotton-trees with pods containing cotton. The god Visvakarmá (celestial artificer), under orders, prepared loom and other weaving machines, and made them over to Siva Dása, who was at the same time presented with a help-mate, named Kusavatí, whom Brahmá, at the instance of Siva, created from a blade of *Kusa* grass, to be his wife. Siva Dása first prepared clothes for the gods and the profession of cloth-making was from that time perpetuated in his family. Kusavatí bore Siva Dása four sons—Balaráma, Uddhava, Purandara, and Madhukara, who became the founders of the four *kuls*, or families, of the Tantuváyas.

The tradition briefly narrated here signifies two important facts: *first*, the great antiquity of the art of weaving, when, after the creation of the world, the gods themselves had no clothes to wear; and, *secondly*, the divine origin of the Tantuváyas. The value of the tradition is, therefore, very great in favour of the whole Tantuváya class. The story recounted in the "Jati Kaumaudí," that the weavers are the offspring of a Manibandha father and a Manikar mother, may be true of a particular class of weavers, who sprang up in later times, as the Kayestha weavers, or the Magi Sreni Tántis alluded to in Mr. Risley's treatise on "The Tribes and Castes in Bengal," (Vol. II., page 296), and has nothing to do with the four great branches of the Tantuváya family founded by four sons of Siva Dása. According to the Brahmá Vaivartta Purána, written probably after the Mahommedan conquest,† the Kuvindika (weaver) is the offspring of Visvakarmá (celestial artificer) by a Súdra woman. This story of the origin of the weavers may, therefore, be dismissed as unworthy of consideration.

In addition to the Code of Manu, the first legislator, whose ordinances still rule and regulate Hindu society, and whose

* The word 'Karpas,' meaning cotton, is said to have been derived from the name of this giant, the letter 'l' being easily transmuted to 'r' by a well-known rule of grammar.

† See Dutt's "Ancient India," Vol. III., page 304.

divisions of castes with their manifold sub-divisions among which the Tantuváyas formed the principal and foremost members of the Vaisya class, have survived the vicissitudes of ages, there is the fact that the first inventor of cotton-cloth—the first weaver of the *Sárlhi* for the goddess—must have received an ovation from gods and men that fixed his status and position in society. The rank was, no doubt, equal to that of the Bráhmāna, or the Kshatriya, for a Tantuváya arose at a time when the A'ryas had no Manu to divide them into classes, but, as his profession was one that came under the category of Vaisyas, he was, as a matter of course, classified among the Vaisyas.

The four sub-castes of Tantuváyas are—the *Várendra kul* founded by Balarámá, the *Madhyama kul* founded by Uddhava, the *Uttara kul* founded by Purandara, and the *Dakshina kul* founded by Madhukara. But besides these four divisions, two others are said to exist, viz., the *Purva kul* and the *Asvina kul*. Dr. Müller also speaks of six divisions in his "Chips from a German Workshop," (Vol. II., page 351); but there is some doubt about this statement. According to some, the *Purva kul* are the same as the *Várendra kul* Tantuváyas, and the *Dakshina kul* as the *Asvina*. The *Dakshina kul* call themselves *Asvina Tantuváyas*, because Siva Dása, their common progenitor, was born in the month of Asvina (September-October). The six sub-divisions, therefore, disappear, and the four mentioned above stand. No intermarriage takes place among these four divisions of Tantuváyas.

Of these the *Várendra kul* Tantuváyas occupy the foremost rank in society. A number of them, for instance the Setts and Bysacks, had given up weaving from time immemorial,* and carried on an extensive trade in silk and cloth. A good many of them still reside at Malda, Dacca, Birbhum, Murshidabad, and other places of Bengal. Some of them carried on trade at Haludpur, or Haridpur, near Saptagrám, or Satgong, once a great emporium of trade, but now deserted, and, owing to some cause not clearly stated, they left that place and came down and settled at Govindapur. These are the well-known Sett and

* Mr. Risley in his "Tribes and Castes in Bengal," (Vol. II., page 296), observes, on the authority of Dr. Wise, that the Tantuváyas of Dacca assume the title of Basak (Bysack), which was originally taken by rich persons, who had given up weaving and become cloth-merchants. But the fact is that the title 'Bysack' existed long before the Tantuváyas went to Dacca and gave up the art of weaving.

Bysack families,* who are still regarded by the people of Calcutta as having the honour of being the founders of Calcutta, as they were the first to settle in it. Govindapur and Sutanuti are names given by them.†

One Sett and four Bysack families were the first to settle at a place where the present citadel of Fort William stands. They cleared the place of *jungle*, turned it into a decent hamlet at first, and carried on trade in silk and grey cotton with the Portuguese and other nations of Europe. We find that the Setts count now seventeen generations from the first patriarch who settled at Govindapur, while the four Bysack families count sixteen, or fifteen, generations from the first settlers as shown below :—

| <i>Patriarch.</i> | <i>Gotra.</i> | <i>Number of generations.</i> |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| Mukundaram Sett | Maudgalya | 17 |
| Kali Das Bysack | Agnivesma | 16 |
| Siva Das‡ do. | Aladri-Rishi | 15 |
| Barapati do. | Amba-Rishi | 15 |
| Basudeva do. | Brahma-Rishi | 15 |

The other families which came subsequently and joined the original Setts and Bysacks are the following :—

| <i>Family.</i> | <i>Gotra.</i> |
|----------------|--------------------|
| | { Maudgalya. |
| | { A'lamyána. |
| | { Durva-Rishi. |
| Bysack ... | { Pándu-Rishi. |
| | { Maharshi. |
| | { Sinha or Sringa. |
| | { Kásyapa. |

* The title 'Sett,' or 'Sethji,' is well-known in Hindustan; it means a shroff, a money-dealer, also a *dhani*, or a rich person. Among the Marwaris and Jainas the title is also very common. The historical Jagat Sett was a Jaina by birth. The title 'Bysack' is supposed to be of Persian origin (بخ, *busakh*), meaning, metaphorically, a 'companion of nobility.' The title, it is said, was conferred by the Mogul Government. But we know as a matter of fact that the title 'Bysack' existed long before the advent of the Mahomedans to this country. A learned scholar of the day thus derives the word: The Sanskrit root is वे (bé) from which comes the word बाय (bāya), meaning a weaver, as Tántuvāya is a thread-weaver; to which is added the word शाखा (śákhā), meaning a branch. Hence बाय + शाखा (baya + śákhā) = बायशाखा (baya śákhā), means a branch of weavers, and the compound is abbreviated into बशाख (Basákh). 'Bysack' therefore more correctly corresponds to the radix of the first part of the word. We know that some forty-two years ago the name was spelt in the vernacular as बशाख and not as बसाक as is done now. It is also noteworthy that the title 'Bysack' is not to be found among any other caste of Bengal. In this article we will, for obvious reasons, adopt the antiquated spelling of these titles.

† It is said that owing to the silting up of the river Sarasvati about 1537 A.D., the Setts and Bysacks left Satgong to settle at Govindapur. Tradition also speaks of a flight.

‡ This Siva Das must not be confounded with the traditional Siva Dása alluded to before.

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----------------|
| Datta (commonly spelt as Dutt) | | { Amba-Rishi. |
| | | { Alanga-Rishi. |
| | | { Kaula-Rishi. |
| Mallik | ... | { Nága-Rishi. |
| | | { Aladri-Rishi. |
| Háldar | ... | Kulattha-Rishi. |

In consequence of the Sett family of the Maudgalya *gotra* having been the first settlers at Govindapur, they had the honour of receiving the first *Mályá-chandana* in all social gatherings of Calcutta, and are still honoured in the social gatherings of the Setts and Bysacks with the first *Mályá-chandana*, to the exclusion of the other families.*

The profession of the Tantuváya was such as never knew the fluctuation of trade. It gave him a monopoly that could not deteriorate. Cloth was as much a necessary of life as rice, and the Tantuváya was the "Surbarai Leebas"† alike to the king, the nobles, and the people. Hence it was that the Setts and Bysacks always formed the aristocracy of every capital where the Hindu monarchs reigned, or the

* *Mályá-chandana*, or *Málá-chandana*, is the ceremony of distributing garlands of flowers with a few drops of *chandana* (sandal-wood rubbed) among the guests at a festival, such as a *sráddha* or a wedding. A garland is thrown on the neck and a drop of *chandana* marked on the brow of every guest according to his social position, or in accordance with the table of precedence approved by the head of the party, or caste, to which the host belongs. The Gosthipada, or head of the clan, sometimes a poor old man with an elephantiasis on his leg, receives the first garland, because his father, or grandfather, happened at one time to be the greatest *Kulin*, or a wealthy member of the community. Among the Bráhmanas of the day, the Súvarna Chaudhurís are reckoned as Gosthipada. The late Rája Rádhákánta Déva used to honour the late Avinás Chandra Gánguli as the Bráhmana Gosthipada of his *Sabhá*. This honour appears to have been given more for his position as Head Assistant of the Receiver's Office of the late Supreme Court at Calcutta than for his learning or Brahmanical purity; but he was a better Kulin than the Súvarna Chaudhurís. The Káyasthas are very particular and zealous in the matter of *málá-chandana*. The wealthy class among them have different *dals*, or parties, headed by a patriarch of the family, and sometimes vehement contests take place for the obtainment of the first garland. The other castes, too, have their *málá-chandana*, but not generally according to any recognised precedence. The Setts and Bysacks, for instance, give the first garland to their Guru, a Gósain (Gósvamí), and then to a representative of a Sett family, if one happens to be present at the time. Old men are generally honoured before young persons.

† "Supplier of clothing" for the Royal Family. This title was conferred with a *Khilut* and *Sanad* on Siva Dás Bysack by the Mogul Viceroy at Allahabad under the Royal Command of the Emperor Akbar. Siva Dás was the first Bengali who was honoured at the same time with the title of 'Babu' or 'Baboo' (*Persian* بابو, metaphorically a 'companion of honour,' and was generally applied to the sons of Sháh-zadahs). Its use is now so common among the Bengalis that it has lost the essence of its origin. A *Sarkar* on Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 is a Babu now-a-days !

Mahomedans ruled. In the British capital of India, Calcutta, they were the first and foremost aristocracy. At Gour (more properly Gauda), they had their nest—their head-quarters—and when the Sena dynasty broke up, and the Mahomedan seat of Government began to shift from place to place, the Setts and Bysacks moved with the Government. A large portion of the Bysacks migrated to Dacca; some went to Murshidabad, when it became the seat of Government. Some of these Bysacks were honoured with the title of 'Chaudhuri.' Several families came down to Sâtgong in the days of its prosperity. They are seen to have settled in every great mart or town. The Kháns represented, and still represent them at Santipur, once a large town. To Calcutta five families* migrated and were at one time the main prop of the East India Company. In fact the East India Company owed its rise and prosperity chiefly to the aid and influence of these Setts and Bysacks. The East India Company, true to its instincts, killed the goose that laid for its sake the golden eggs. Manchester usurped their calling, and the great Houses of the Setts and Bysacks in Bengal dwindled into ruin. The Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta fell into decay from the day the battle of Plassey was fought. Mighty were their means before. At one time the whole of Calcutta was owned by them. Not only had the East India Company to ask them for a site, but every past settler in Calcutta received his holding from a Sett, or a Bysack, either free, or on payment. If ever the history of Calcutta topography is written, it will be abundantly shown that Sutanuti, Govindapur and Calcutta were the exclusive property of the Setts and Bysacks long before Mahárájá Nava Krisna Bahadur received the talukdari of Sutanuti from the British Government. Even after he became the *Talukdar* of Sutanuti, he failed to assess, or levy, a *cowrie* of rent from a Bysack, or Sett, having holdings in Sutanuti. The Setts and principal Bysacks removed from Govindapur to their places in Burrabazar, which is in *khas* Calcutta, and out of the precincts of Sutanuti. The line that divided Sutanuti from Calcutta was the North side of Nimtolah Ghât from the Strand to the Canal.

(To be continued.)

* One family of Setts and four of Bysacks noticed before.

ART. X.—THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY IN INDIA.

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The Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894, being supplement to the "*Edinburgh Academy Chronicle*:" February 1894.

THE INDIAN ARMY LIST.

IN a footnote to the part of this article which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for July last, I said that the *Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894*, had been sent to me (by the "old boy" who gave me the particulars about the dinner eaten in January last in Calcutta), and that from it I was surprised and grieved to learn that Colonel Fergusson, the Historiographer of the *Cumming Club*, had ceased to answer to his name at the annual gatherings, having gone to join the majority. This Army List appears to be the first of a series, and was issued as a Supplement to the *Edinburgh Academy Chronicle* of February 1894. I hear that the *Chronicle* itself has been in existence for about two years, and I presume that, so far as has been found possible, it contains a record of every past pupil who attended the Academy from its beginning in 1824 down to the present day. I should think the total number must be between four and five thousand, and that most of these spent at least three years in the school. Out of these, five hundred, including a few cadets and volunteers, have served, or are still serving, in the British and Indian Regular Armies. The Editors of the *Chronicle* say that the *Army List* cannot be considered complete, owing to the difficulty of procuring information about the earlier pupils of the Academy; nor do they claim for it more than approximate accuracy. They hope to publish a supplementary list with corrections, and to note, at least once a year, in the *Chronicle*, the promotion of officers on the Active List. "Communications on these points should be addressed to the Master of the Army Side at the Academy." The Academy has put on a good deal of "side" since I attended it. It was then one-sided, or—shall I say?—"totus, teres, atque rotundus." Afterwards it divided itself—in defiance of the Scripture text—into two sides: an Ancient, or Classical, and a Modern;

and now there appears to be at least one more side—the Army Side.

In the introductory remarks on the *Army List* it is observed that in a list of 500 names it might well be expected that some eminent soldiers would appear. Five of the number won the Victoria Cross, the highest distinction for bravery which a soldier can obtain. Two of these braves still survive, while the other three died in the execution of their duties. At least three other officers on the list were recommended for the same distinction. "One of them, Captain Spens, won a nobler name in sacrificing himself, for he 'saved the 72nd.'" Over fifty of the number have risen to be General Officers, while several have held high commands in important campaigns. Eight have been knighted for their services, while many are Companions of British Orders of Knighthood, or Members of Foreign Orders. The first war of note in which Academicals took part was the Afghan War of 1840-42. "In the succeeding Punjab Wars," as the *Chronicles of the Cumming Club* remarks, "old Mr. Roland" (the Fencing Master) "could read of many feats of valour which might be attributed to his early lessons in swordsmanship:—

"The Crimean Campaign saw more than forty Academicals in the trenches before Sebastopol, and one at least in high command in the famous Heavy Brigade. It was, however, in the Indian Mutiny that the Academicals first (?) made their mark. Of the seventy engaged in this campaign, several were murdered by their regiments at the outset; but they were amply avenged by the survivors, of whom three obtained the Victoria Cross. Almost every phase of the war was seen by Academicals: the protracted fighting round Lucknow, and the defence of the Residency; the battle of Badli-ke-Serai, and the crowning glory of Delhi. The desire for vengeance must have been writ deep in the hearts of those who, like Beatson, emulated the Blind King of Bohemia at Crecy, and sought a last repose among the ranks of the enemy."

These last words are rather obscure, but Beatson's entry in the *Army List* is:—

BEATSON, W.S., Captain, 1st Bengal Cavalry:—"The little body of Volunteer Cavalry, composed mainly of English officers, now appeared on the scene It was a charge of but Eighteen Sabres Among those who went into action was Captain Beatson, who had been struck down by cholera, and was powerless to sit his horse; but dying as he was, he could not consent to lose his chance of taking part in the great act of retribution. So he placed himself in a tumbril, and was carried into action; and as dear life was passing away from him, his failing heart pulsed with great throbs of victory." (Kaye, vol. ii., p. 285.) ... 1834-36

No less, it is said, did the later Afghan War bear testimony to the bravery of Academicals, but it caused terrible loss. In one short week Major John Cook, V.C., and Captain James Dundas, V.C., were killed, while Captain Spens lost his life at Asmai Heights. Later on, General Tytler,

V. C., succumbed to illness, "and the remainder of the little band of thirty-five returned to India mourning the loss of its best men.

"In the Egyptian War of 1882 and the succeeding campaigns, some twenty Academicals worthily upheld the honour of their old school.

"Nor has evidence of proficiency in military subjects been wanting. On eleven occasions we can point to Academicals who have occupied the first place at competitive examinations, four of them having passed First out of Woolwich, while the successes already won by members of our lately-formed Army Class give promise that this standard will be fully maintained."

The introduction to the Army List ends thus :—

"We may, perhaps, be allowed to assure Academicals that their deeds will not be wanting in imitators. There may everyday be seen at Raeburn Place" (the Playfield) "examples of courage and coolness, which augur well for the succeeding generation. When present and future Academy boys come to write their deeds on the roll of history, we hope that they also will be found to have played the man; and then, however small their service, or unfortunate their end, their memory will be handed down with that reverence with which we invite attention to this record of the deeds of their predecessors."

As the Academy had done without a "Chronicle" for nearly seventy years, I presume it was the publication of the *Chronicles of the Cumming Club*, with its "Muster Roll," which included so many soldiers, that opened the eyes of the school authorities to the advisability of having a record of the whole body of pupils, and later on, to the good that would follow from the publication of an "Army List," as pointed out in the words last quoted.

I must now, as I did from the "Muster Roll" attached to the *Chronicles of the Cumming Club*, extract from the "Army List" particulars regarding the Academy men who served, and are serving, in India. But my record must be very imperfect, for not only do the Editors say that, in many cases, the field services of Indian Officers have not yet been obtained, but in many cases I find that nothing is recorded as to what parts of the world other officers have served in, though many of them must have served in India. One near relation of my own, and several men I knew at home before they joined the Army, I have seen and known in India, but no Indian service is entered to their credit in the list; and I knew a Connaught Ranger for three years, out here long ago, but did not know that he had been two years at the Academy, after my time, until I lately saw his name in the "Army List." There are some very obvious errors in the list, and others which I can correct from personal knowledge: thus, one Indian Army Officer is shown as on the Active List, who retired about ten years ago. The next man on the list, the uncle of the officer just mentioned, died in the seventies, but is shown as still alive. Sir Alexander Christison, Bart. (M. D. ?), is recorded merely as Surgeon-General: he was so in India, in the North-Western Provinces, and I think

belonged to the Indian Medical Department. The late Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, R. A., is said to have studied in the Academy from 1856 to 1860, but also to have during that period—in 1857-58—commanded a heavy battery in the field during the Indian Mutiny Campaign. Lieutenant M. C. Utterson is said to have been killed in the Persian Campaign of 1856, but the type in which his name is printed indicates that he is still to the fore. The late Lieutenant-Colonel Vertue, Madras Engineers, a class fellow of mine, who died in 1876, is said to have attended the school from 1841 to 1876, an injustice to his reputation, as he was a distinguished student. But I mention these instances as merely spots on the sun, which will not recur. To transcribe in full the entries in the "Academy Army List" regarding officers who have served in India would occupy too many pages of the *Calcutta Review*; and as much of the matter seems matter of course,—e g., the receipt of medals and clasps for the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the Afghan Frontier and Burman Campaigns,—I have shortened many of the entries by omitting mention of these distinctions. I have also in most cases omitted the names of particular battles and operations in the various campaigns, my object being merely to show generally the nature of each man's service, while mentioning the more remarkable deeds and feats of valour which are recorded in the "Army List." I do not repeat particulars which have already been given in "The Muster Roll of the Cumming Club;" but the names of *our* boys who went to India will be found in their proper place. The list is alphabetical. The names of officers known to be dead are printed in *italics*; "a" before an officer's name denotes that his name was on the Active List in January 1894.

It will be seen that out of the total of 500 officers in the "Army List" of the Academy 270, or more than one half, are recorded or are known to myself, as having served in India; but I think it quite possible that this is one hundred short of the number that did so serve. Even as it is, it is a goodly number. The years at the right hand of the page opposite the entries, at the end of the line, indicate approximately the time during which an officer was at the Academy.

C. W. HOPE.

The Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894.

- AGNEW, G. A., Lieutenant-Colonel, 90th and 30th Regiments : Indian Mutiny Campaign (wounded). A year's service for Lucknow 1848-52
- (a) AITKEN, W., Lieutenant-Colonel, R. A. : served in second and third Afghan Wars ; Burmese War, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel ... 1863
- ANDERSON, D., General, Bombay Artillery ... 1841-44
- ANDERSON, PATRICK CHARLES, Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Artillery : Lower Burmah Campaign, 1852. (See *Cumming Club*, p. 130) ... 1844-46
- ANDERSON, R. E., Captain, 15th Bengal Native Infantry, 3rd Bengal European Regiment, 107th Regiment : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59 ... 1839-42
- BAILLIE, J., Gentleman Cadet : Killed accidentally at Addiscombe ... 1837-39
- BAIRNSFATHER, H. W., Captain, I. S. C. ... 1852-57
- BALDERSTON, A., Captain, 109th and 34th Regiments (originally in the 3rd Bombay European Regiment, which became the 109th Regiment in 1862) : killed while superintending rescue work at Naini Tal, 18th September, 1880 ... 1854-57
- BALLARD, J. A., General, C. B., D. C. L., R. E. : One of the defenders of Silistria against the Russians, 1854. Received the C. B. while a subaltern. Served in the Russian (Persian?) War, 1856. Master of the Mint at Bombay. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 61, 62, 119, 208, and Kinglake's *Crimea*, vol ii, pp. 51-55) ... 1838-40, 1842-45
- (a) BANNERMAN, W. B., Surgeon-Captain, Madras Medical Service ... 1869-71
- BEATSON, W. S., Captain, 1st Bengal Cavalry : "The little body of Volunteer Cavalry, composed mainly of English officers, now appeared on the scene It was a charge of but eighteen Sabres Among those who went into action was Captain Beatson, who had been struck down by cholera, and was powerless to sit his horse; but, dying as he was, he could not consent to lose his chance of taking part in the great act of retribution. So he placed himself upon a tumbril, and was carried into action ; and as dear life was passing away from him, his failing heart pulsed with great throbs of victory."—(Kaye, vol. ii, p. 285) ... 1834-36
- (a) BELL, G. J. H., Surgeon-Captain, Indian Medical Service : Lushai Expedition, 1859 ... 1875-76
- (a) BELL, J. BEATSON, Lieutenant, West Yorkshire Regiment, and I. S. C. ... 1882
- BELL, T., Major-General, I. S. C. ... 1840-44
- BETHUNE, R., Major, 92nd Highlanders : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ; and Central India under Sir Hugh Rose ; Brevet of Major ... 1837-40
- BEVERIDGE, A. W., Surgeon-Major, M.D., 78th Highlanders, A. M. D., Final Capture of Lucknow ... 1845-49
- BLACKWOOD, C. D., Lieutenant, Bengal Infantry : Died at Calcutta, 1862 ... 1852-54
- BLACKWOOD, G. F., Major, Bengal Artillery : Killed at Maiwand, Afghanistan ... 1847-54
- BOYLE, HON. R.E., Colonel, 46th Bengal Native Infantry, and I. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ; Afghan Campaign, 1878-79, commanded 11th P. W. O. Bengal Lancers. ... 1846-49
- BOYLE, W., Lieutenant-Colonel, 15th and 89th Regiments : Crimean War, Brevet of Major ; Knight of the Legion of Honour ; Commanded a field force in Central India in 1858-59. (Commanded 89th Regiment in India in the seventies.—C. W. H.) ... 1829-34
- (a) BRANDER, H. R., Captain, I. S. C. ... 1872
- BRANDER, J. B. DUNBAR, Captain, 3rd Madras Light Cavalry, and Scots Greys : Crimea. (Formerly James B. Dunbar) ... 1837-40

- BRANDER, M. J., Lieutenant-General, I. S. C.: Burma, 1852-53; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58, Brevet of Major; Afghan War, 1878-79 ... 1838-40
- BREMNER, A. R., Lieutenant, 41st Madras Native Infantry: Died in Central India, 1856 ... 1837-40
- BROWN, W., Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Artillery ... 1838-43
- BRUCE, A. A., Major-General, 3rd Bengal Native Infantry, I. S. C.: Punjab Campaign, 1848-49, &c. (See *Cumming Club*, p. 134) 1842-44
- BRUCE, A. J., Major-General, 14th Madras Native Infantry, I. S. C.: Deputy Superintendent, Mysore Commission. ... 1838
- BRUCE, A. M., Colonel, 15th Punjab Infantry: Bhootan, 1865-66; Bizotis, 1869; Miranzai, 1869; Jowaki Expedition, 1857-78; Afghan War, 1879-80, &c., &c. ... 1854-58
- BRUCE, E. B., Lieutenant, Madras Infantry ... 1848-54
- BRUCE, J. C. W., Colonel, 48th Madras Native Infantry ... 1843-45
- BRYCE, J. H., Lieutenant, R. A. Saved his guns at Chinhut, 30th June, 1857; wounded at Lucknow, and died 8th August 1857. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 97-135-137) ... 1841-48
- BURNES, G. J. H., Lieutenant, 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry: Murdered during the Indian Mutiny. (See *Cumming Club*, p. 138; Kaye, vol. iii, pp. 482-487) ... 1843-45
- CADELL, A., General, R. E.: Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government, N. W. P., P. W. D. ... 1836-41
- CADELL, A. T., General, R. A.: Served in the Chinese War, 1840-42, and the Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58. Died 1885 ... 1825-32
- (a) CADELL, H. F., Captain, 83rd Regiment, and I. S. C. ... 1863-66
- CADELL, H. M., Major, Bengal Artillery: Burmese War, 1852, and Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857. Died 1868 ... 1842-46
- CADELL, J. S., Lieutenant, Madras Cavalry. Died 1870 ... 1826
- CADDELL, R., General, C. B., Royal Artillery: Crimea, Brevet of Major; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-60, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel ... 1834-40
- CADDELL, ROBERT, Colonel, 20th Bengal Native Infantry, and B.S.C. ... 1839-42
- (U. C.) CADDELL, T., Colonel, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, and B.S.C.: Indian Mutiny, 1857-60; Victoria Cross for rescuing wounded men under severe fire on two occasions, 12th June, 1857. Chief Commissioner, Andaman Islands, 1880-92 ... 1845-48
- CADDELL, W., Lieutenant-Colonel, M. S. C.: Commissioner in the Berars, Hyderabad Assigned District. Died 1876 ... 1835-41
- (a) CAMPBELL, H. W., Captain, I. S. C. ... 1872
- (a) CAMPBELL, J. C., Major, R. E.: Afridi Expedition, 1877-78; Afghan War, 1879-80. Passed First out of Woolwich ... 1865-70
- CAMPBELL, J. H. A., Lieutenant, 20th Bombay Native Infantry ... 1836
- (a) CAMPBELL, L. R. H. D., Lieutenant-Colonel, I. S. C.: Hazara Field Force, 1868; Black Mountain Expedition, &c.; Afghan War, 1878-79, in which Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master General 1857-61
- CAMPBELL, T. HAY, Major-General, Bengal Artillery ... 1836-43
- CHALMERS, A. B., Captain, General List, Bengal Infantry. Died at Peshawar 1869 ... 1847-51
- CHALMERS, H. B., Colonel, I. S. C.: Principal Executive Commissariat Officer at Agra during the Mutiny; wounded at battle of Agra, 1857 ... 1840-45
- CHALMERS, ROBERT, Lieutenant-Colonel, 45th Bengal Native Infantry: Indian Mutiny Campaign; second in command of 14th Bengal Cavalry; joined Havelock's Volunteer Cavalry from the time it was raised; a year's service for Lucknow, and Brevet of Major. Died 1878 ... 1843-44
- CHALMERS, SYDNEY, Lieutenant-General, 53rd Bengal Native Infantry: Santhal and Indian Mutiny Campaigns, including siege and capture of Lucknow, where he was severely wounded. Died 1892 ... 1844-49

- CHANCELLOR, ALEXANDER, Captain, 10th and 75th Foot : Died September, 1857, at the siege of Delhi ... 1838-41
- CHANCELLOR, ALEXANDER, Major, Northumberland Fusiliers : Afghan War, 1878-79. (See *Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 18.) Died 21st March, 1893 ... 1860-65
- CHRISTIE, ALEXANDER, in the Indian Army : killed in the Khyber Pass, 1842 ... 1829-32
- CHRISTIE, B., Lieutenant, Bombay Artillery. Died February, 1860 ... 1845-49
- CHRISTIE, ROBERT, Lieutenant, 5th Bengal Cavalry ... 1828-32
- CHRISTIE, W. B. B., Captain, 80th Foot : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1858-59 ... 1852-54
- CHRISTISON, SIR ALEXANDER, Bart., Surgeon-General, Indian Medical Department ... 1836-43
- CLEGHORN, J. C., Captain, 7th Madras Cavalry ... 1842-45
- CLEPHANE, A. R., Lieutenant-General, M. S. C. : Turkey and Crimea, 1855-56 ... 1836-42
- CLEPHANE, W., Lieutenant, R. A. : (See *Cumming Club*, p. 142.) Died of Cholera, 1st September, 1857 ... 1841-45
- CLERK, EDWARD, Major, 3rd Madras Cavalry ... 1833-40
- (a) COCHRAN, F., Colonel, 37th Foot : Burma, 1887-89 ... 1857-59
- COCKBURN, H. A., Lieutenant-General, 53rd Bengal Native Infantry : Indian Mutiny Campaign. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 144-146) ... 1841-42
- (a) COLDSTREAM, J. C., Lieutenant, I. S. C. ... 1882-88
- (a) COLDSTREAM, W. M., Lieutenant, R. E. : Passed First out of Woolwich ; now in India ... 1879
- (J. C.) COOK, JOHN, Major, 107th Foot, and B. S. C. : Divisional Order No. 2148, Camp Sherpore, 21st December, 1879, announced his death from a wound received in action on 12th idem, and narrated his services as a young man at Umbeyla in 1863, the Black Mountain in 1868, and in the Afghan Campaign, with the Kurram Field Force, in 1878-79. — "Major Cook was present at the capture of the Peiwar Kotal : his conduct on that occasion earning for him the admiration of the whole force and the Victoria Cross." "In the capture of the heights of Sung-i-Nawishta, Major Cook again distinguished himself, and in the attack on Takht-i-Shah peak on the 12th December, he ended a noble career in a manner worthy of even his great name for bravery." (See also Forbes's *Afghan Wars*, p. 242) ... 2852-56
- (a) COOK, WALTER, Captain, 89th Foot, and I. S. C. : Served with 17th Foot in Afghan War, 1878-79 ; severely wounded. "The conduct of Lieutenant Cook during an action fought on 14th October, 1879, near Turkai Kotal, was prominently brought to notice by Colonel Money with a view to his being recommended for the Victoria Cross." — *Historical Record of the 3rd Sikh Infantry*, Lahore, 1887 ... 1867-69
- COOK, WALTER, Lieutenant, 1st Madras European Regiment, and 22nd Madras Native Infantry ... 1833-40
- CRAIGIE, A. W., Lieutenant, Guide Corps : Mortally wounded near Delhi, 1857 ... 1845-47
- CRAIGIE, W. B., Major, Bengal Cavalry ... 1854-56
- CRASTER, J. T., Lieutenant-Colonel, 38th Foot : Crimean and Indian Mutiny Campaigns. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 147-148) ... 1843-44
- CUMMING, W. G., Lieutenant Colonel, 17th Bombay Native Infantry ... 1840-41
- CUNNINGHAM, C. A., Colonel, I. S. C. : Afghan War, 1880, A.-A. G. of Division and on line of communications ... 1851-56
- CUNYNGHAM, SIR R. K. A. DICK, Bart., Lieutenant, 93rd Highlanders : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ... 1848-53
- (a) DALLAS, J., Captain, R. E. : Assistant Secretary, Military Department, Government of India : Passed first into Woolwich and first out ... 1870
- DALMAHOY, P. C., Major-General, 60th Bengal Native Infantry : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59 ... 1850-54

- DALMAHOY, S. S.*, Captain, I. S. C. : Died 1876 ... 1856-57
- DICK, A. ABERCROMBIE*, Captain, B. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign (severely wounded) ; China Campaign, 1860. (Commanded 11th P. W. D., Bengal Lancers (?).—C. W. H.) ... 1844 46
- DICK, W. ABERCROMBIE*, 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry ... 1832-39
- DICKSON, W.*, Colonel, Bengal Artillery ... 1835
- DIROM, T. A.*, Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Artillery : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; three times mentioned in despatches ; Brevet of Major ... 1842-45
- DOBBS, A. F.*, Colonel M. S. C. ... 1850
- DOBBS, F. H.*, Lieutenant, 1st Madras European Fusiliers : Killed at Lucknow, 1858 ... 1849 51
- DOIG, A. J.*, Colonel, I. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ... 1850-53
- DREVER, W. S.*, Colonel, C. S. I., 31st Madras Native Infantry : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; Sometime Inspector-General of Police, Madras. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 151-152.) Died. 1880 ... 1841-43
- DRUMMOND, HENRY*, General, Bengal Engineers : Satlaj Campaign, 1845-46 ; Burma, 1852 ; Commanding the Engineers in Rohilkhand, 1858 ; Brevet of Major ... 1833-40
- DUCAT, J. S.*, Captain, Bombay S. C., 17th Bombay Native Infantry : Died 1865 ... 1849-56
- DUDGEON, J. J.*, Captain, 22nd and 80th Foot : Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1838-43
- DUDGEON, R. C.*, Major, 61st Foot, and Royal Scots : Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1851-57
- DUMBRECK, W.*, Surgeon, M. D., 1st Royals : Crimea and Indian Mutiny Campaigns. Died at Lucknow, 1858 ... 1842-47
- DUNBAR, THOMAS C.*, Lieutenant-Colonel, 75th Regiment : Served with 98th under Sir Colin Campbell at the forcing of the Kohat Pass, 1850 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857, Brevet of Major 1837-40
- (V. G.) *DUNDAS, JAMES*, Captain, R. E. : Bhootan, 1865 ; gained the Victoria Cross for gallant conduct at the attack on the Blockhouse of Dewangiri in Bhootan, 30th April, 1865 ; Afghan War, 1878-79 ; killed by premature explosion of a mine at Kabul, December 1879. (See *Forbes's Afghan Wars*, p. 262) 1852-55
- ECKFORD, JOHN*, Major, R. E., Bengal : Latterly in Indian Telegraph Department. Died 1881... 1849-50
- ELDER, J. J.*, Major-General, B. S. C. ... 1841-45
- ERSKINE, H. N. B.*, Colonel, C. S. I. : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; Colonel of Indian Volunteers (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 155-157) ... 1841-43
- EWART, ARCHIBALD J. P.*, Captain, 16th Madras Native Infantry ... 1839-40
- FAIRLIE, C.*, Lieutenant-Colonel, 19th Hussars ; Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1849-54
- FARQUHAR, W. G.*, Lieutenant, 1st Madras Infantry ... 1838
- FERGUSON, ALEXANDER*, Lieutenant-Colonel, 106th Foot : Served in Persia, 1856-57 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign. Compiler of the *Chronicles of the Cumming Club*, which see, pp. 158-161. Died 1892 ... 1841-46
- FERGUSON, H. M.*, Major, M. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 1830-37
- FERGUSON, J. A.*, Lieutenant-Colonel, Rifle Brigade, (with which twice served in India.—C. W. H.) : Professor of Tactics, &c., R. M. C., Sandhurst ... 1857-61
- FERGUSON, J. A. D.*, Lieutenant-Colonel, 6th Bengal Light Cavalry : Panjab Campaign, 1849, Brevet of Major ... 1824-27
- FERRIER, ISLAY*, Captain, 48th Madras Native Infantry : 7th Class ... 1827
- (a) *FITZGERALD, C. J. O.*, Colonel, C. B., M. S. C. : Field service in 1858 in the Raithore Doab, India ; Afghan War, 1880 ; Burma, 1886-87, C. B. ... 1851-53
- FITZGERALD, JAMES*, Colonel, B. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59 ; China War, 1860 ... 1849-53

- FULLERTON, W.*, Major-General, 14th Bengal Native Infantry: Formerly D. J. A.-General, Bengal. Maharajpur, Gwalior Campaign, 1843; Satlaj Campaign, 1845-46. Died 1876 ... 1833
- FULLERTON, J.*, Captain, Scots Greys, and 16th Bengal Native Infantry ... 1839-46
- GAMMELL, F. E.*, Captain, Bengal Artillery ... 1838-43
- GAMMELL, J. H. H.*, Colonel, 76th, 22nd, 63rd, 9th and 54th: Served in N.-W. Frontier in India, and the Campaign of 1854 against Mohmunds. Again served five years in India in the Seventies. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 165-166) ... 1841-46
- GIFFORD* (either *GEORGE ROBERT* or *EDWARD SCOTT*), Bengal Volunteer Cavalry: Killed at Damuriaganj, 1857 ... 1834
- GILLESPIE, A.*, Lieutenant-Colonel, R. A.: Indian Mutiny Campaign: Commanded a heavy battery in the field in 1855-58 (?) Died 1892 ... 1856-60
- GORDON, GEORGE*, Colonel, 50th Bengal Native Infantry: Served against the Kohls, 1832-33; Punjab Campaign, 1847; afterwards in command of 2nd Sikh Infantry ... 1824-27
- GORDON, J. R.*, Lieutenant-Colonel, 15th Madras Native Infantry, and 108th Foot (See *Cumming Club*, p. 166) ... 1844-46
- GRAHAM, ADAM W.*, Colonel, Indian Army: North-West Frontier Campaign, 1868 ... 1849-54
- GRAHAM, G. F. I.*, Major-General, I. S. C. ... 1851-54
- GRANT, R. G. H.*, Major-General, R. A. (Madras): Field service in Bandelkhand, 1842 ... 1832
- GROVE, W. G.*, Colonel, 32nd Madras Native Infantry: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857. Commanded a force of Irregular Cavalry and Infantry at the attack on Heerakote, 1858 ... 1838-42
- (a) *HALKETT, H. CRAIGIE*, Major, I. S. C.: Afghan War, 1878-79; Mahsud-Waziri Expedition, 1881; Sikkim Expedition, 1888 ... 1861-62
- (a) *HAMILTON, H.*, Captain I. S. C. ... 1870
- HAMILTON, SIR W. STIRLING*, Bart., Major-General, R. A. (Bengal): Wounded in six places during a night attack on his camp by Afridis; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1840-41 ... 1843-46
- HARE, JAMES*, Colonel, 60th and 22nd Regiments: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857 ... 1847-48
- HAY, C.*, Colonel, B. S. C. ... 1854-58
- HAY, DUNLOP*, Captain, 78th and 93rd Regiments: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59; wounded ... 1850-54
- HAY, HENRY*, Major, B. S. C.: Zhob Valley Expedition, 1884; Burma Expedition, 1885-89 ... 1858-61
- HILLS, ARCHIBALD*: Was three terms at Addiscombe; afterwards became a planter in Bengal ... 1843-47
- HILLS, GEORGE SCOTT*, Colonel, R. E., Bengal: Indian Mutiny Campaign; Bhootan Expedition; Afghan War; Commanding Royal Engineer to Division Cabul (*sic*). 1879-80, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel: Died May, 1892 ... 1849-50
- HILLS, GEORGE SCOTT*, Colonel, 38th Bengal Native Infantry and 28th Punjab Infantry: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857; Rebellion, 1862-63; Cossya and Jyntea Hills; Afghan War, 1879-80. Commanded a column in Black Mountain Expedition, 1891 ... 1844-47
- HILLS, JOHN*, Major-General, C. B., R. E.: Persian Expedition, 1856-57; Abyssinian Expedition, 1867-68; Commanding R. E. Bombay Force, Afghanistan, 1879-81; Commanding R. E., Burma, 1886-87. Stanton Medallist, Edinburgh University, 1858-59. F. R. S. E., 1859. C. B. for services in Afghanistan ... 1844-47
- (V. C.) *HILLS-JOHNES*, Lieutenant-General Sir J., G. C. B., R. A.: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58; (severely wounded); awarded the Victoria Cross, for which see Kaye's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. ii., pp. 234-235, 434; Brevet of Major.

- Abyssinia 1868 ; Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel. Afghan War, 1878-80 ; Governor of City of Kabul ; Commander of North Afghanistan Field Force ; thanks of both Houses of Parliament ; G.C.B., 1893. Formerly Sir J. Hills : assumed the surname Hills-Johnes, 6th October, 1883 ... 1843-47
- HODSON, A. D., Lieutenant, 57th Regiment, and 6th Hyderabad Native Infantry ... 1884
- HODSON, V. J., Lieutenant, Bengal European Light Infantry : Died at Benares, 25th December, 1863 ... 1854-57
- (a) HORSBURGH, R. P., Lieutenant, 7th Dragoon Guards, and I. S. C. : Burma, 1886-88 ... 1871-75
- HUGHES, J. W., Major-General, 54th Regiment : Mentioned for conduct during a fire aboard a transport with his regiment—headed a party who volunteered to throw the gunpowder overboard ; Brevet of Major. Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1846-53
- (a) HUGHES, D. E. Surgeon-Colonel, B. M. S. ... 1853-59
- HUNTER, A. K., Lieutenant, 37th Madras Native Infantry ... 1837
- HUNTER, THOS. A., Lieutenant-Colonel, 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, and 104th Foot : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; Sikkim Field Force, 1860-61 ... 1847-54
- HUTCHISON, R., Surgeon, M.D., B.M.S. ... 1847-49
- INGLIS, R. L., Ensign, 13th Bengal Native Infantry : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; wounded during defence of Lucknow, and died of his wounds at Allahabad, aged 18 ... 1850-54
- INNES, FRANK COSMO, Nizam's Cavalry : Died 1867 ... 1846-50
- (a) IRVINE, T. W., Surgeon-Captain, B. M. S. ... 1800-82
- JOHNSTONE, JAMES WILLIAM HOPE, Colonel, 18th Bengal Native Infantry, B. S. C. : Indian Mutiny, 1857-58 (wounded twice) ; D'war Valley Expedition, 1872 ... 1846-47
- JOHNSTONE, R. G. HOPE, Major, 13th Bombay Native Infantry : Adjutant, 1st Oudh Irregular Cavalry ; A.D.C. to General Mansfield, in Indian Mutiny Campaign, in operations against Lucknow ... 1839-42
- JOPP, A. A. C., Captain, R. E. : Past first into Addiscombe (See *Chronicle*, vol. i, p. 7) ... 1852-56
- JOPP KEITH, Surgeon, M. D., Madras ... 1831-34
- KELSO, W. E. UTTERSTON, Lieutenant, 17th Madras Native Infantry : Formerly W. E. Utterston ... 1841-45
- (a) KIRKPATRICK, E., Lieutenant, I. S. C. ... 1879-83
- (a) KIRKPATRICK, R., Surgeon-Captain, A. M. S. : Burmese War, 1886 ... 1872-75
- (a) KIRKPATRICK, W., Lieutenant, I. S. C. : Burmese War, 1886 ; Expedition against the Miranzai ... 1873
- (a) LAWRIE, EDWARD, Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel, B.M.S. ... 1860-83
- LEVEN, JOHN, Colonel, 62nd Bengal Native Infantry, and I. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; Abyssinia, 1867 ... 1837-43
- LIMOND, D., Major-General, C.B., R.E. : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; defence of Residency at Lucknow, for which granted a year's service (see Kaye, vol. iv., pp. 112-145) ; Afghan War, 1879, C. B. ... 1842-45
- LISTON, JOHN, Colonel, B.S.C. ... 1845
- (a) LOCKHART, W. E., Colonel, R. A. : Now in India ... 1850-55
- MCDUGALL, C. A., Lieutenant-Colonel, 9th Bengal Native Infantry : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; N.-W. Frontier (See *Cumming Club*, p. 182) ... 1841-44
- MACDOUGALL, JAMES W., Colonel, M. S. C. ... 1855
- MACDOUGALL, JOHN, Colonel, M. S. C. ... 1855
- MACDOUGALL, JOHN, Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army ... 1824-7
- MACFARLAN, D., Lieutenant-General, C.B., R.A. : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; defence of Residency at Lucknow (severely wounded), a year's service, and Brevet of Major ; Expedition on N.-W. Frontier, 1864 ; Afghan War, 1878-79 ; Ordnance Consulting

- Officer for India, 1879-85 ; Commanded a Division of Bengal Army, 1885-89 ... 1842-49
- (a) MACGREGOR, M. J. R., Major-General, 18th Regiment : Afghan War, 1880 ... 1850-52
- MACKENZIE, A. K. J. C., Colonel, Bengal Cavalry : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ... 1840-44
- MACKENZIE, COLIN J., Major, Seaforth Highlanders : Egypt, 1882 ; Burma, 1887-89 ; Hazara Expeditions, 1888 and 1891 ; operations against Hunza and Nagar, 1891-92, Brevet of Major ... 18 5
- MACKENZIE, F. J. N., Colonel, B.S.C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1841-46
- MACKENZIE, G. P., Surgeon-Major, I.M.S. ... 1862-64
- MACKENZIE, J. M., Captain, I.S.C. ... 1837-40
- MACKENZIE, N. K. J., Lieutenant, 6th Bengal Light Cavalry : (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 182-183). Died 1856 ... 1841-46
- MACKENZIE, T., Major, 78th Highlanders : Afghan War, 1880 ... 1847-52
- MACKINTOSH, HENRY, Lieutenant, 52nd Madras Native Infantry ... 1837-38
- MACKINTOSH, JAMES, Surgeon, 32nd Madras Native Infantry ... 1826-33
- MACMASTER, A. C., Colonel, M. S. C. : Brigadier-General Commanding at Multan. Died 1879 ... 1836-38
- MACNEILL, HARRY B., Captain, Bombay Cavalry. Died 1878 ... 1853-59
- (a) McQUEEN, SIR J. W., Major-General, K. C. B., I. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 (severely wounded at storming of Secundrabagh, relief of Lucknow) ; Mahsud Waziris, 1860 ; Bizotis, 1869 ; Jowaki-Afridi Expedition, 1877-78 ; Afghan War, 1878-80 ; in command of 5th Punjab Infantry at attack on Peiwar Kotal, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel and C. B. ; Mahsud Waziris, 1881 ; Commanded Hazara Expedition, 1888, K. C. B. (Commanded Punjab Frontier Force, I think.—C. W. H.) ... 1846-48
- MAITLAND, K. R., Colonel, 79th Highlanders : Served through the whole of the Crimean War. Indian Mutiny Campaign, Brevet of Major ; and with the Sikkim Field Force. Died 1893 ... 1836-40
- MARRIOTT, P. W., Surgeon, 1st European Madras Frontiers : (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 184-185) ... 1845-47
- MERCER, W. W., Captain, 7th Madras Native Infantry ... 1837-40
- (a) MOBERLY, F. J., Lieutenant, D. S. O., I. S. C. : Gained the D. S.O. for operations in the Afghan Frontier in 1893. (See *Chronicle*, vol. 1, pp. 36-37) ... 1881-84
- (a) MOIR, D. M., Surgeon Captain, B. M. S. ... 1876-77
- MONCRIEFF, SIR C. S. SCOTT, Colonel, K. C. M. G., C. S. I., R. E. : Indian Mutiny Campaign Permanent Under-Secretary for Scotland:—(See *Chronicle*, vol. 1, p. 7, for an account of his connection with the irrigation works in Egypt.) (Was for many years in Irrigation Branch P. W. D., N.-W. P.—C. W. H.) ... 1849-52
- MONCRIEFF, G. K. SCOTT, Major, R. E. : Afghan War, 1878-80, 1864-67, ... 1868-71
- MORGAN, OSBORNE, Colonel, 38th Madras Native Infantry ... 1840-42
- MORTON, B. W. D., Lieutenant-General, 30th Bengal Infantry and I. S. C. : Cossyah and Jynteah Campaign, 1863 ... 1838-40
- MORTON, G. E., Surgeon-General, I. M. S. : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ; Hazara Expedition, 1868 ... 1828-32
- MORTON, W. E., Major-General, R. E. : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ... 1830
- MUIR, W. J. W., Colonel, R. A. , and I. S. C. ... 185 54
- (a) MURDOCH, J. BURN, Major, R. E. : Afghan War, 1878-80 (wounded at Asmai Heights) ; Egypt, 1882. The *Time*' correspondent, reporting the action at Tel-el-Kebir, says : "Lieutenant Burn-Murdoch was the first man in ; galloping forward in advance of his men, he dashed into the battery and sabred the gunners as they were about to discharge their last gun." In pursuit which followed Tel-el-Kebir, Lieutenant Burn-Murdoch prevented the trains at Zag-a-Zig escaping with

- their crowds of fugitives. For his conduct he was recommended by Sir J. S. Browne for the Victoria Cross ... 1863-67
- MURRAY, ANDREW, Colonel, D. S. O., Seaforth Highlanders : Afghan War, 1880 ; Egypt, 1882 ; Hazara Campaign, 1888, D. S. O. ... 1847-53
- MURRAY, A. G., Major, M. S. C. : Hyderabad Contingent, 1858-59 ... 1848-51
- MURRAY, A. M., Lieutenant-Colonel, R. A. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ; Commissary of Ordnance, India ... 1833-40
- MURRAY, C. S., Lieutenant-Colonel, 72nd Highlanders : (Served with his Regiment in India in 1871.—C. W. H.) ... 1843-49
- MURRAY, JOHN, Surgeon-Colonel, Madras Army ... 1845-52
- MURRAY, R. H., Colonel, Seaforth Highlanders : Afghan War, 1878-80 ; Egypt, 1882, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel ; Soudan, 1885 ... 1862-64
- MYLNE, W., Captain, Bengal Artillery : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ... 1839-42
- NAPIER, G., Lieutenant-Colonel, Bombay Artillery ... 1840-42
- NASMYTH, D. J., Colonel, Bombay Engineers ... 1838-44
- NEMBARD, W., Major-General, I. S. C. : Satlaj Campaign, 1846 ; Burma War, 1852-53 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1840-42
- NEWMARCH, C. D., Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Engineers : Burmah, 1853. Died 1869 ... 1837-40
- NEWTON, W. D. O. HAY, Captain, 72nd Highlanders : Indian Mutiny Campaign. (See *Cumming Club*, p. 172) ... 1841-45
- OLIPHANT, J. S., Lieutenant, 5th European Bengal Infantry ... 1848-51
- OLIPHANT, T. T., Lieutenant, 45th Bengal Native Infantry ... 1849-52
- (a) OSWALD, F., Captain, I. S. C. ... 1878-80
- OSWALD, J. H., Lieutenant, B. S. C. : Burma, 1885. Died 1892 ... 1880
- (a) OSWALD, W. A., Captain, I. S. C. : Burma, 1886-87 ... 1875-78
- PATERSON, A., Major-General, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, B. S. C. : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ; Burma, 1852 ; Bhootan, 1865-66 ; Afghan War, 1878-79 ... 1839-40
- PRINGLE, D., Captain, 58th Bengal Native Infantry. Died 1874 ... 1850
- PRINGLE, G. S., Ensign, 6th Bengal Native Infantry : Murdered at Allahabad by his regiment, May 1857 ... 1848-50
- PRINGLE, R., Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel, B. M. S. ... 1846-49
- RAMSAY, HONBLE SIR H., General, K.C.S.I., C.B., I.S.C. : Commissioner in Kumaon. Punjab Campaign, 1848-49. Died December, 1893 ... 1829-32
- (a) REID, C. C., Captain, I. S. C. ... 1874
- (a) RICHARDSON, H. L., Lieutenant, I. S. C. ... 1879
- RICHMOND, G. M., Lieutenant, 20th Punjab Native Infantry : Served in China, 1860. Killed in the Umbeyla Campaign in defence of the Eagle's Nest Post, 1863, while acting Captain ... 185-56
- ROBERTSON, A., Captain, Bengal Artillery : Afghanistan, 1842 ; Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ; Burma, 1852 ; Gun-Carriage Agent at Fatehgarh in 1856 ; wounded in defence of the Fort and murdered by the mutineers in 1857 ... 1839
- ROBERTSON, D., Colonel, Bengal Native Infantry : Bhootan, 1865-66 ; Lushai, 1871-74, Brevet of Major ; Naga Hills, 1879-80 ; Burma, 1886-87 ... 1854-56
- ROLLAND, H., Lieutenant-Colonel, 19th Bombay Native Infantry ... 1825-26
- ROOME, F., Lieutenant-General, 10th Bombay Native Infantry : Crimea, 1855-56 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, Brevet of Major ; Abyssinia ; Afghan War, 1879-80 ... 1838-39
- (a) ROSS, A. G., Colonel, C.B. I.S.C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1858-59 ; Abyssinia, 1868 ; Jowaki Campaign, 1877-78 ; Afghan War, 1878-79, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel ; Waziri Campaign, 1881 ; Zhob Valley Expedition, 1890, Commander of the Punjab Frontier Force Column ... 1850-54
- ROSS, SIR C. C. G., General, K. C. B., Bengal Army : Peshawar Hill Force, 1851-52-53 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58, Brevet of Major ; Umbeyla Campaign, 1863, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel ; Jowaki-Afridi Campaign, 1878 ; K. C. B. ... 1833

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| ROSS, SIR E. C., Colonel, Kt., C. S. I. : Indian Mutiny Campaign | ... | 1845 |
| ROSS, W. A., Major, R. A. : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857 | ... | 1836-41 |
| (a) SAVI, T. B. B., Lieutenant-Colonel, R. E. : Bhootan Field Force, 1865-66 | ... | 1853-59 |
| SCOT, P. G., Lieutenant-General, Bengal Infantry : Satlaj, 1845-46 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ; a year's service | ... | 1833 |
| (a) SCOTT, C. G. ROBSON, Surgeon-Lieutenant, 3rd Hussars, and R. M. S. | ... | 1877-83 |
| (a) SEARLE, A. E., Captain, I. S. C. | ... | 1877-80 |
| (a) SEARLE, C. T. A., Lieutenant, I. S. C. | ... | 1873 |
| SHAW, D., General, I. S. C. : Moplah Expedition, Burma, 1885-86 | ... | 1842-46 |
| SHERIFF, J. P., Lieutenant-General, I. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; Brevet of Major on attaining regimental rank of Captain for services in the field as a subaltern ; Lushai Expedition, 1871-72 ; Duffla Expedition, 1874-75 ; operations against the Nagas, 1875 and 1879-80. Good service pension, 1884. (See also <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 192-194) | ... | 1841-43 |
| SHOWERS, H. F., Major, B. S. C. | ... | 1857 |
| SIMPSON, J. R., Lieutenant, 10th Bengal Native Infantry : Served in Burmese War, 1852 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, killed by insurgents, 4th August, 1857. (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 194-195) | ... | 1841-44 |
| SMITH, DAVID B., Surgeon, B. M. S. | ... | 1842-48 |
| SPENS, N. J., Captain, 72nd Highlanders : "The fanatics sped on without wavering. As they gathered behind a mound for the final onslaught, Captain Spens, with a handful of Highlanders, went out in the forlorn hope of dislodging them. A rush was made on him ; he was overpowered and slaughtered after a desperate resistance."—Archibald Forbes's <i>Afghan Wars</i> , p. 250. An academical writes that Captain Spens was killed during the assault on the Asmai heights, 14th December, 1879, while gallantly leading a party of Native Infantry against overwhelming odds. Lord Roberts stated in his despatches that no man was more worthy of the Victoria Cross had he lived | ... | 1854-59 |
| SPOTTISWOODE, R. C. D'E. E., Colonel, 10th Hussars : Afghan War, 1879 ; Soudan Campaign, 1885, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel | ... | 1851-54 |
| SPROTT, G. H., Ensing : Killed at Guzrat | ... | 1838-39 |
| SFEUART, R. Captain, Madras, (Sic) | ... | 1851-53 |
| STIRLING, W. COLQUHOUN, Captain, 14th Madras Native Infantry, and 107th Foot | ... | 1840-44 |
| STIRLING, SIR W., Lieutenant-General, K. C. B., R. A. : Crimean War ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, Brevet of Major ; China Expedition, 1860 ; Afghan War, 1878-79 ; C. B. ; Governor of R. M. A., Woolwich, K. C. B. 1893 | ... | 1844-48 |
| STOTHERT, R., Captain, 4th Bengal Native Infantry : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 | ... | 1836-43 |
| (I remember a Dick Stothert, in the class next below me, 1843-46 ?—C. W. H.) | ... | |
| STRANGE, A., Major, 25th K. O. S. B. : New Zealand, 1860-63 ; Moplah Campaign, (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 123-124, 199-200) Died 1870 | ... | 1842-44 |
| STRANGE, T. B., Major-General, R. A. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ; Rebellion in Canada, 1885 | ... | 1843-44 |
| SWINTON, GEORGE, Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Engineers | ... | 1843-45 |
| SWINTON, W. BENTINCK, Major, Madras Cavalry | ... | 1845-46 |
| TAIT, R., Lieutenant-Colonel, 26th Madras Native Infantry | ... | 1850-52 |
| TAYLOR, ALEX., Rev., Chaplain, Madras Establishment | ... | 1838-45 |
| TAYLOR, A. F., Captain, Bengal Artillery | ... | 1838-40 |
| THURBURN, H., Captain, 42nd Madras Native Infantry | ... | 1838-41 |
| (a) TORRIE, L. J., Major, I. S. C. | ... | 1863-68 |

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| TULLOH, R. D. H., Major, 39th Bengal Native Infantry | ... | 1827-33 |
| TULLOH, THOMAS, Major, 33rd Bengal Native Infantry till 1857, when he raised the 21st Sikh Infantry (now 29th Bengal Native Infantry) and commanded it till 1861 : Siege of Jhansi 1838-39 ; Afghanistan, 1842 ; Satlaj Campaign, 1845-46 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign | ... | 1827-33 |
| TURNER, F. C., Captain, 79th Highlanders, and 39th Foot : Crimea ; Indian Mutiny Campaign | ... | 1848-50 |
| TWEEDIE, A. L., Captain, 36th Madras Native Infantry | ... | 1837 |
| TWEEDIE, W. J., Major (General, Madras) Native Infantry : Burma 1852-53 | ... | 1837 |
| (V. C.) TWEEDIE, J. A., Colonel C. B., I. S. C.: Peshawar Frontier, 1851-52 ; Boori : Pass, 1853 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59 ; V. C. for exceptional gallantry ; wounded. Commanded 4th Goorkhas at Umbeyla Pass, 1863 ; Hazara Campaign, 1868 ; Lushai Expedition, 1871-72 ; Afghan War, 1878 (See Forbes's <i>Afghan Wars</i> , p. 169) Died in Kurram Valley, 1880 | ... | 1838-40 |
| TWEEDIE, MAURICE FRASER, Ensign, 23rd Bengal Native Infantry | ... | 1828-31 |
| URQUHART, J. H., Lieutenant, R. E.: Killed in Lushai War | ... | 1851-53 |
| UTTERSON, A., Major-General, 7th Bombay Native Infantry and 1st Grenadiers, B. N. I.: Served in Sind ; Persia, 1857 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, commanded 15th Bombay Native Infantry Afghan War, 1878 | ... | 1842-46 |
| UTTERSON, M. C., Lieutenant, 20th Bombay Native Infantry : Killed in the Persian Campaign, 1856. (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 208-209) | ... | 1842-46 |
| VERNOR, ROBERT, Captain, Connaught Rangers : Crimea. (Served in India with the Rangers.—C. W. H.) | ... | 1848-50 |
| VERTUE, JAMES, Lieutenant-Colonel, Madras Engineers (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , p. 210). Died 1876. | ... | 1841-76 |
| VERTUE, W., Colonel, I. S. C. | ... | 1850-55 |
| WALKER, G. A., Lieutenant-General, 4th Madras Native Infantry | ... | 1838-44 |
| WATSON, R. BOOG, Rev., Chaplain to Highland Brigade in Crimea. Indian Mutiny Campaign | ... | 1832-49 |
| WAUCHOPE, J., Captain, 24th Bombay Native Infantry | ... | 1838-44 |
| WEBSTER, H. W., Colonel I. S. C.: Indian Mutiny Campaign, Bhootan, 1864-65 ; Afghan War, 1879-80 | ... | 1854-66 |
| WEBSTER, R. F. Major-General, 21st Bengal Native Infantry | ... | 1839-40 |
| WELSH, DAVID J., Major-General, R. A.: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 Died 1890 | ... | 1842-48 |
| WHIGHAM, ROBERT, Major-General, 42nd Highlanders : Crimea. (Served in India.—C. W. H.) | ... | 1846-49 |
| WILSON, BENJAMIN, Lieutenant, Madras Native Infantry | ... | 1838 |
| WILSON, W. J., Colonel, 43rd Madras Native Infantry | ... | 1824-31 |
| WOOD, HENRY, Captain, 3rd Light Dragoons : Afghanistan, 1842 ; Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 | ... | 1824-30 |
| WRIGHT, JOHN, Captain 18th Bombay Light Infantry and 106th Foot ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1858. Died at Agra, 1870 | ... | 1846 |
| WYLD, BENJAMIN, 1st Madras European Regiment | ... | 1836-39 |
| WYLLIE, J. S., Lieutenant, 72nd Highlanders : (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , p. 221) | ... | 1841-44 |
| YOUNGER, J., Colonel, R. A., Afghan War, 1878-79 | ... | 185-59 |

THE QUARTER.

IN Europe, the death of the Czar of Russia ; in Asia, the series of brilliant successes which have brought the Japanese almost within striking distance of Mukden and Peking ; in India, the attack by the Mahsud Waziris on the British Camp at Wano, which will not improbably necessitate a punitive expedition are the most

Calcutta Review, October, 1894.

WE have been requested by the author of the article "Cagliostro," in our last number, to insert the following list of emendations and corrections:—

- Page 359, line 1, for "not yet" read "barely."
- " 361, " 11, " "Aguino" read "Aquino."
- " 366, " 12, " "who had him flogged" read "who, some time before, had had him flogged."
- Page 366, line 15, for "Duke of Saxony" read "Duke of Kurland, son of the Elector of Saxony."
- Page 373, line 15, for "Corce" read "Croce."
- " 377, " 23, " "belief" read "idea."
- " 380, " 17, " "hint" read "warning."
- " 383, " 7, *dele* "afterwards."

results of the change of rulers in this respect ; but so far appearances lend no countenance to the popular expectation. On the contrary, a circular has been issued by M. de Giers, stating that the Czar is firmly resolved to follow in his father's footsteps and devote his energies to the welfare of his country, and that he will in no wise deviate from the firm policy which has aided in the maintenance of general peace.

As far as Great Britain is concerned, the Czar Nicholas II is understood to have shown a strong disposition to draw closer the bonds of friendship. It was remarked that he lost no opportunity of showing honour to the Prince of Wales during his visit to St. Petersburg to attend the funeral obsequies of the late Czar, and the imminence of a *rapprochement* between the two countries has become a common subject of

- TULLOH, R. D. H., Major, 39th Bengal Native Infantry ... 1827-33
- TULLOH, THOMAS, Major, 33rd Bengal Native Infantry till 1857, when he raised the 21st Sikh Infantry (now 29th Bengal Native Infantry) and commanded it till 1861 : Siege of Jhansi 183839 ; Afghanistan, 1842 ; Satlaj Campaign, 1845-46 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1827-33
- TURNER, F. C., Captain, 79th Highlanders, and 39th Foot : Crimea ; Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1848-50
- TWEEDIE, A. L., Captain, 36th Madras Native Infantry ... 1837
- TWEEDIE, W. J., Major (General, Madras) Native Infantry : Burma 1837
- (V. C.) TWEEDIE, J. A., Colonel C. B., I. S. C.: Peshawar Frontier, 1851-52 ; Boori : Pass, 1853 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59 ; V. C. for exceptional gallantry ; wounded. Commanded 4th Goozkhass at Umbeyla Pass, 1863 ; Hazara Cam-

- (Served in India. ...)
- WILSON, BENJAMIN, Lieutenant, Madras Native Infantry ... 1838
- WILSON, W. J., Colonel, 43rd Madras Native Infantry .. 1824-31
- WOOD, HENRY, Captain, 3rd Light Dragoons : Afghanistan, 1842 ; Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ... 1824-30
- WRIGHT, JOHN, Captain 18th Bombay Light Infantry and 106th Foot ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1858. Died at Agra, 1870 ... 1846
- WYLD, BENJAMIN, 1st Madras European Regiment ... 1836-39
- WYLLIE, J. S., Lieutenant, 72nd Highlanders : (See *Cumming Club*, p. 221) ... 1841-44
- YOUNGER, J., Colonel, R. A., Afghan War, 1878-79 ... 185-59

THE QUARTER.

IN Europe, the death of the Czar of Russia ; in Asia, the series of brilliant successes which have brought the Japanese almost within striking distance of Mukden and Peking ; in India, the attack by the Mahsud Waziris on the British Camp at Wano, which will not improbably necessitate a punitive expedition, are the most conspicuous events of the Quarter ; of hardly less importance is the resignation of Count von Caprivi, the German Chancellor, and the substitution in his place of Prince Hohenlohe, the late Governor of Alsace Lorraine, while we, in India, have been threatened with a *contretemps* which might have proved more momentous than any of these—but the fear of which has, happily, passed away—the death of the Ameer of Afghanistan.

The news of the late Czar's dangerous illness aroused more apprehension throughout Europe than has, perhaps, been caused by a similar announcement regarding any sovereign in recent times. Whatever opinions may have been formed of his domestic policy, which was retrograde and oppressive, he was known to be emphatically a man of peace, who had not only opposed a stern resistance to warlike counsels in the past, but was resolved that, if his country were involved in hostilities during his reign, it should be through no lack of effort on his part to avert them. It was commonly believed, too, that his successor was a man of opposite mould, who, if he did not himself hasten to let loose the dogs of war, would be at small pains to prevent others from doing so.

It would be premature, at this early date, to forecast the results of the change of rulers in this respect ; but so far appearances lend no countenance to the popular expectation. On the contrary, a circular has been issued by M. de Giers, stating that the Czar is firmly resolved to follow in his father's footsteps and devote his energies to the welfare of his country, and that he will in no wise deviate from the firm policy which has aided in the maintenance of general peace.

As far as Great Britain is concerned, the Czar Nicholas II is understood to have shown a strong disposition to draw closer the bonds of friendship. It was remarked that he lost no opportunity of showing honour to the Prince of Wales during his visit to St. Petersburg to attend the funeral obsequies of the late Czar, and the imminence of a *rapprochement* between the two countries has become a common subject of

discussion in political circles. The marriage of the Czar to the Princess Alix, which took place on the 26th ultimo, should, in the natural course of things, tend to strengthen this disposition; and, altogether, while Europe continues to be an armed camp, the political horizon could not well be less clouded than it appears to be at the present moment.

The chief features in the campaign in the Far East have been the capture by the Japanese in succession of the fortified towns of Ping Yang, Kinchow and Talienwan, and of Port Arthur, and a great naval engagement off the Yaloo river between a Chinese fleet of twelve, and a Japanese fleet of eleven war ships, in which three of the Chinese ships were sunk and one was burnt, while the Japanese lost none of theirs, though several of them were badly damaged. Ping Yang was defended by a force of Chinese variously estimated at from 12,000 to 20,000 men, who were attacked simultaneously in front and rear, and some 3,000 of whom were cut to pieces or taken prisoners. Port Arthur, which was powerfully armed and was regarded by experts as practically impregnable, was captured by assault after twenty-four hours' fighting, during which the Chinese are said to have lost two thousand and the Japanese only about as many hundred men, a disparity in the number of casualties on either side which, under the circumstances, seems barely credible. The Japanese fleet, which had for some time been blockading the place, took no part in the attack. Of the fate of the Chinese fleet, which was understood to be shut up in the harbour, nothing has been heard; but the natural conclusion is that, unless it had escaped before the capture of the place, it must have fallen into the hands of the Japanese. One corps of the victorious army is reported to have re-embarked for Shan-hai-khwan, whence it is intended to march on Pekin. In the North the invaders, according to the latest accounts, had arrived within forty miles of Mukden.

An impression at first prevailed that the capture of Port Arthur would bring the war to an end; but, though the Chinese have approached the Japanese with overtures for peace, and are said to have offered to abandon the suzerainty of the Korea and pay a heavy indemnity, the Japanese have refused to treat, on the ground that Herr Detring, the envoy who carried these proposals, was not properly accredited. In the meantime, the Mikado, in his congratulatory message to Marshal Oyama, who commanded the attacking force, insists on the necessity of increased activity in the prosecution of the war, the end of which he declares to be far off, and active preparations are being made for a winter campaign. Everything seems to indicate that the Japanese will be satisfied with nothing less than the capture of Pekin itself, and the collapse

of the defence is so utter, that they will probably have little difficulty in accomplishing this feat. Of intervention on the part of the Powers there seems at present to be little prospect, an attempt on the part of England to bring such a movement about having failed, mainly owing to the refusal of Germany to join in it, while, though America has offered to mediate, the Japanese have declined to deal otherwise than directly with Peking.

Hints have been thrown out by the *Times* that there are limits beyond which Japanese expansion at the expense of China will be treated as inconsistent with other interests; but it is doubtful whether the threat has any better basis than private opinion as to the attitude the Powers ought to adopt, and still more doubtful whether, in the not improbable event of Japan refusing to be bullied into foregoing any of the fruits of her victory, any of the Powers would take up arms to coerce her.

The resignation of the German Chancellor seems to have arisen out of serious differences between him and Count Eulenberg, the President of the Prussian Ministry, on the subject of the policy to be adopted towards the Socialists, the former advocating moderate measures, and the latter a stringent system of repression. The Emperor, who at first had been disposed to adopt Count Eulenberg's views, is understood to have subsequently made up his mind to accept those of the Chancellor; but the premature appearance in the *Cologne Gazette* of a semi-official article, announcing the triumph of Count von Caprivi in too unqualified terms, gave grave offence and led to a demand for its withdrawal, the result of which was that the Chancellor tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and Count Eulenberg immediately afterwards tendered his, with the same result. The change is not expected to affect the foreign policy of Germany; but it is considered not improbable that it will be followed by the adoption of a more active Colonial policy.

Among the speeches delivered by the Party leaders in England during the Parliamentary recess, the most noteworthy have been those of Lord Rosebery at Bradford and the Guildhall, the former for the light it throws on the intentions of the Government in the coming Session, and the latter for the account given in it of the state of relations between England and Russia. At Bradford the Premier announced that the Government would propose a Resolution for a revision of the powers of the House of Lords, which, if adopted, would be followed by an appeal to the country.

Referring to the statement that the country had shown itself indifferent to the question, he argued that for that reason

the moment was specially favourable for action. "It is not," he said, "a moment of passion; it is not a moment of reaction; and if the Tories say it is a moment of apathy with regard to the House of Lords, we reply that that is reason for dealing with the House of Lords with exceptional promptitude. If, on the other hand, there is, as we believe, a feeling of subdued but persistent resentment against the House of Lords, it is equally a moment to deal with the question."

That, however, is scarcely the light in which the head of a Ministry might be expected to look at the matter unless he were riding for a fall, for the question is eminently one on which those who are not for action would be likely to vote against so radical a change.

Regarding the nature of the proposed Resolution, Lord Rosebery was silent; but he pointed out that, while the Upper House had remained unchanged, the House of Commons had, three times within the last 60 years, been popularised by great constitutional changes in a democratic direction. Thus they had at present, on the one side, a representative Chamber elected on a wide popular basis; and, on the other, a House composed almost entirely of hereditary peers opposed to popular aspirations. Whether at the next election there were 100 or 600 Liberals returned to the House of Commons, there would still be only 30 Liberal peers in the Upper House. This was a mere mockery of free institutions. He confessed that in principle he was a second Chamber man; he was not for the uncontrolled government of a single Chamber, any more than for the uncontrolled government of a single man. But if he were bound to choose between no second Chamber at all and a second Chamber constituted as the House of Lords was, he would have cause for hesitation with regard to his principle. He further said that, to his mind, it was an absolute danger, an invitation to revolution, that there should be an assembly occupying the position of the House of Lords, and preventing Liberal legislation from being carried except by menace. In his judgment the House of Lords was not a second Chamber at all, but a permanent party organisation, controlled for party purposes by party managers.

Lord Salisbury, at a Unionist Meeting at the Empire Palace Theatre, said, in reply, that he did not believe Lord Rosebery to be in earnest, but they must deal with his portentous utterance as it presented itself. After declaring that it was beyond the power of the Premier to determine what should be the subject of the reference to the electors, who would choose what most concerned them, and severely criticising the vagueness of his statement, he went on to say that Lord Rosebery's Resolution would probably be passed, but

it would not possess any force, for the House of Lords would pass another Resolution. Other agencies than these would be needed to change the Constitution. Physical force could overthrow the House of Lords, but the country, he maintained, would never use it. The struggle would be desperate and long ; and while it lasted, nothing else could be done. It would be the death-blow to legislation for the elevation of the masses.

It is understood to be the intention of the Government to proceed first with their Registration and Local Option Bills, in the expectation, probably, that they will be thrown out by the Lords and thus furnish a further confirmation of their indictment of that body. People naturally ask what will be gained by a Resolution which, whatever the result of the appeal to the country may be as regards the balance of parties, must remain a Resolution and nothing more, and which, unless the Lords choose to accept it as an invitation to them to reform themselves, and bring in a Bill for the purpose, cannot advance matters one jot.

In his Guildhall speech, Lord Rosebery, referring to the advice that had been given the Government that they should seize the occasion of the change of rulers in Russia to enter into more cordial relations with her, said that Her Majesty's Government had anticipated it. Ever since they had been in power, their relations with Russia had been more cordial than he had ever remembered them to be. They had as nearly as possible, he hoped and believed, terminated the long standing difficulty regarding the delimitation of their respective spheres in Central Asia, thus removing almost the only dangerous question that arises between the two powers, and he added an expression of his belief that, if Russia and England could march with cordiality and without suspicion in Asiatic affairs, one great step towards the peace of the world would have been taken.

According to the Moscow correspondent of the *Standard*, one item in the understanding which has been arrived at is, that the country between the Murghabi-Aksu, claimed by England, and the Panja Sarhad, claimed by Russia, as the true Oxus, shall be neutralised, by way of establishing a *modus vivendi*, but not as a permanent arrangement.

The reference to the war between China and Japan, contained in the same speech, lends no countenance to the notion that the Government are likely to adopt a policy of forcible intervention. "We are determined," said Lord Rosebery, "to maintain that strict neutrality which should be the position of Great Britain in such a war. We cannot, on the one hand, forget that we have of late shown the most strong and tangible proof of our friendship to Japan by concluding a treaty with the object

of a treaty revision, which is what Japan has most had at heart, and which we are the first of the European Powers to give her ; and, on the other hand, we cannot forget that our frontier line with China is over 4,000 miles in extent ; that in recent and later years China has shown herself a friend of this country, and, therefore, in preserving a neutrality to both Powers, we have preserved a benevolent neutrality. In what way can we show that benevolence more than by attempting to secure the blessings of peace ? And although we have not as yet been successful, and in my opinion we had little right to hope to be successful, we do not repent any efforts that we have made. In this delicate and difficult business we have acted hand in hand with Russia, the other Power mainly interested. In any pacific means that would secure the termination of the war on terms honourable to Japan and not disastrous to China, we would gladly join. In itself that cordial action with Russia is a fact over which we may rejoice."

The Royal Commission on the question of the amalgamation of the County and City of London have presented their Report. Their recommendations, which are strongly condemned by the Conservatives, but command the approval of the Radicals, are to the effect that the whole area of the present administrative County of London, including the City, should, in future, be called the City of London, and should be a county in itself, while the City as now known, should hereafter be styled the "Old City." The governing body, practically the existing County Council, with representatives of the Old City added, should be incorporated under the name of the "Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of London," and should succeed to the present Corporation of the Old City and the London County Council.

The elections in the United States have resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Republicans, whose majority in the House of Representatives will, it is stated, now be fully a hundred. President Cleveland's message announces that efforts will continue to be made to counteract the depletion of the Treasury gold reserve by the issue of bonds until the existing law is altered, and pronounces strongly in favour of a scheme to modify the present banking laws and provide for the issue of circulating notes by State banks free from tax. In the meantime a deficiency of seventy million dollars in last year's budget is reported, and the excess of revenue over expenditure for the current year is estimated at twenty million dollars.

The serious illness of the Amir has had the effect of bringing home forcibly to the British public, and, no doubt, to the Government, the gravity of what the *Spectator* calls the

"abominable complication" of the presence of European British subjects in Kabul. The position is one of extreme awkwardness. The Government would probably much prefer that there should be no Englishmen or Englishwomen in Kabul, at all events with its acquiescence. Yet it would hardly be, and certainly would not seem, consistent with its friendship for the Amir, or its professions of anxiety for his welfare, that it should take steps which would have the effect of debarring him from availing himself of such assistance for purposes so laudable as those for which the services of Sir Thomas Salter Pyne, Miss Hamilton, and the other Europeans at present employed by him are entertained. The result, moreover, of its taking such steps would almost inevitably be that the Amir would turn elsewhere for the requisite assistance, and thus an even more serious element of risk, of a different complexion, would be imported into the situation.

According to recent accounts the Amir has made a most remarkable recovery, for he is said to be in excellent health, and one is tempted to think that his illness must have been exaggerated, though he himself seems to have considered it serious enough to justify him in calling together his Generals and Sardars, and announcing to them the appointment of his eldest son, Habibullah, as his successor.

The attack of Mullah Powindah and his followers, to the number of some three thousand, on General Turner's camp at Wano, which took place at dawn on the 3rd November, was a most determined affair, and, but for the excellent arrangements of the camp and the gallant conduct of the Gurkhas, on whom the brunt of the attack fell, and the Punjabis, would probably have been attended with much more serious results. As it is, our casualties were heavy, including Lieutenant P. J. Macaulay, killed on the spot, and Lieutenant Angelo, of the 1st Gurkhas, who has since died of his wounds; Captain Lang and Lieutenant Herbert, of the 1st Gurkhas, Surgeon-Major Haig, of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, Lieutenant Hornby, of the 24th Beluchistan regiment, and Lieutenant Thompson, of the 26th Punjab Infantry, wounded, besides two Gurkha native officers, seventeen Gurkhas, one man of the 1st Punjab Cavalry and twenty-four followers, killed, and forty-one Gurkhas, two men of the 20th Punjab Cavalry, four men of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, and twenty-two followers, wounded. The enemy, who dispersed after the fight and pursuit, though another large body of tribesmen had gathered in the neighbourhood to support them, are said to have left 500 killed and wounded on the ground.

The ultimatum which has been sent to the Mahsud Waziris, is said to include the surrender of a number of offenders, the furnishing of hostages, the expulsion of Mullah Powindah from

the country, and the restoration of the Government property plundered in the recent raids. Up to the 1st instant, the date originally fixed for their decision, they had, owing, it is alleged, mainly to the opposition of the Mullah, not agreed to these terms, but had applied for an extension of time to the 13th instant, which has been granted. In the meantime a formidable force is held in readiness to operate against them in case of necessity.

A complete discussion of the policy which has led to this collision would be out of place here ; but it is difficult to believe that any such stern necessity existed for the delimitation of a sphere of influence in Waziristan as to warrant the Government of India in incurring the grave risk involved in the operation ; and, though it may be said that the previous recent conduct of the Waziris would in any case have necessitated their punishment, it is open to the opponents of our new frontier policy to argue, that, had we been content with our old boundaries, no such provocation would have been received.

This year's Viceregal tour, including, as it has done, so much of our most recently-acquired territory and some of the most important of our frontier defensive works, has been one of exceptional interest. Among the places of importance at which halts were made, were Dhurmsala ; Amritsar, where the Viceroy visited the famous Golden Temple and witnessed the ceremony of the Pahal or Sikh initiation ; Sukkur, where the Canal, the Adamshah Forts, and the new water-works were inspected, and the Khan of Khairpur and the stipendiary Mirs of Sind were received ; and Quetta, where his Excellency received the Jam of Khelat, held a levée, inspected the fortifications and witnessed some interesting military manœuvres. From this place an excursion was made to the Khojak and New Chaman, after the return of the party from which a grand durbar was held and the Khan of Khelat invested.

Leaving Quetta on the 8th November, the Viceregal party travelled, *via* Sibi, to Shikarpur, where the local Sardars were received in the railway station. At Karachi, where he arrived on the 10th, the Viceroy visited the Sind Art College, Hassan Ali's School, Peeamari and the Erskine wharf, and Manora Fort ; held a levée ; was presented with addresses by the Chamber of Commerce, the Municipality and the Hindu and Mahommedan Societies, and inspected the troops, while Lady Elgin laid the foundation-stone of the Lady Dufferin Hospital. The next stage in the journey was Multan, where the time was passed quietly. At Rawal Pindi, which was next reached, the defences were inspected, and a sham fight was witnessed and a levée held. From Peshawar, the next halting-place, where also a levée and parade were held, the Viceroy visited

the Khyber Pass as far as Ali Masjid, and the party, proceeding thence to Attock on the Indus, embarked in boats for Kalabagh. Landing there amid a blaze of bonfires and illuminations, they travelled by special train to Khewrie and inspected the remarkable and interesting salt-mines there. Then, resuming their railway journey, they halted at Bhaodin and visited the field of Chillianwala, which was reached in ekkas, rejoining the train at Chillianwala station, and arriving at Lahore on the morning of the 26th November. At the Lahore railway station, a large number of the ruling Chiefs of the Punjab were assembled to welcome the Viceroy, including Kashmir, Patiala, Bahawalpur, Kapurthala, Jhind, Nabha, Faridkot, Chumba and Suker. After the inevitable Municipal address had been received, the party drove to the Viceregal Camp, accompanied by all the principal officials and local chiefs in procession. At night a levée was held, at which the officers of the Regular and Imperial Service regiments in Camp were presented; and the following day was spent in receiving and returning visits. On the 29th a grand review was held at Mian Mir; in the afternoon the lions of Lahore were visited, and in the evening a ball was given by the Civil Services at the Montgomery Hall. But the great event of the visit, and, indeed, of the tour, was the durbar held in the Viceregal Camp, on the morning of the 30th, at which Lord Elgin addressed the assembled Princes and Chiefs at considerable length.

The same evening His Excellency attended the St. Andrew's dinner given by the Highland Brigade. The following day a Convocation of the local University was held, and the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred on the Viceroy, who made an interesting speech on the occasion. An evening party was given by the Lieutenant-Governor at the Shalimar Gardens, and a dinner by the Viceroy in the evening.

With the exception of the address at the durbar at Lahore and that at the Convocation of the University at the same place, the speeches made by Lord Elgin in the course of his tour have been marked by the studied reticence which has characterised his public utterances generally since his arrival in the country, and which was beginning to assume the appearance of lack of self-confidence or independence. The address to the Chiefs at Lahore was more outspoken, and, though it disclosed no signs of originality, was eminently statesmanlike in both substance and tone.

Referring to the frontier policy of the Government and its relations with Afghanistan and Russia, he said :—

The time has not yet come when we can set aside as of no account the martial instincts of your race. Journeying round the frontier, and examining the forts erected for its defence at great

cost, now well nigh complete, I could not but think that there was only one thing more required to make our positions impregnable, and that was brave men to hold them. Here, in the home of brave men, we have seen yesterday the fine regiments of the Imperial Service Troops which the Princes and Chiefs of the Punjab have raised for the avowed purpose of testifying to the world their determination to make common cause with us in the defence of the Empire. It will be my pleasing duty to report to Her Majesty, knowing as I do how sincerely she appreciates such proofs of loyal devotion from the Princes and Chiefs of India, the gallant bearing of the troops that I have seen here. One word of caution I may add : We seek to be strong that we may be at peace. We have no ambition for conquest ; no desire to extend our boundaries ; no other wish than to cultivate friendship with our neighbours. From the recent speech of the Prime Minister of England you will have learned that there is reason to hope that the time is approaching when all risk of the clashing of Russian and British interests in Asia will be obviated, and I venture to say that no more welcome intelligence could be conveyed to any lover of India. We have the great advantage of a firm friend and ally in the ruler of Afghanistan. His Highness the Ameer, whose recovery from his late illness we all hailed with pleasure, has honourably recognised the obligations of the treaty of last year. The difficulties of an undefined frontier have already been removed in part, and will, I hope, soon be entirely swept away by the efforts of the Afghan and British officers working on terms of the most complete amity. It is our own aim and ambition so to regulate our relations with the brave undisciplined inhabitants of the hills on our Western border, as at the same time, to ensure the peace and security for life and property upon which our treaty obligations and the dictates of humanity compel us to insist, as to leave to them the entire occupation of their country, the fullest measure of autonomy, and the most complete liberty in their internal affairs and their tribal customs. I need not say with how much regret I have seen clouds arise in Waziristan and darken the prospect. I trust they will roll away. I can safely assert, on behalf of the Government of India, that, though they will not allow any obstacle to prevent their pushing on to their goal and establishing, as they intend to do, peace and order on this part of your frontier, they will not deviate from the profession I have just made, they will not be turned aside by any desire for retaliation, but will maintain their set purpose of securing by peaceful means, if at all possible, one of the last links in the chain of friendly peoples.

In connexion with the land question he remarked :—

There is no use in shutting our eyes to the fact that there are still questions of great importance affecting the conditions under which land is held and the position of cultivators that demand solution. There are evils which follow close in the train of increasing population and increasing demands for the application

of capital to land, which, unless regulated and restrained, cripple the resources of men struggling to preserve their independence, and tend to bring into existence undesirable relations between owners and occupiers. Rest assured that Government will approach these questions with sympathy, as well as with caution, as I think I may claim that they have shown in their recent Resolution on Forest management, to which my hon'ble colleague, Sir A. MacDonnell, has devoted so much time and attention. No Government can afford to view with indifference the embarrassment of a class of men who, here in the Punjab, have often proved the backbone of the State in peace and in war.

The address concluded with some words of friendly counsel and encouragement to the Chiefs :—

I desire now to say a few words to connect the lessons of the past with the duties of the future. I wish to associate you, Princes and Chiefs, with the British Government in this matter. The British Government is proud to base its claim to the loyalty of the people of India on the justice, purity, and benevolence of its administration. Depend upon it, you can rely on no surer foundation. It used to be said that it was a fierce light which beat upon a throne ; it beats now on every act of every ruler, I might almost say of every officer of Government. I am no foe to criticism, and though I think that some of the criticism to which the Government of India is subjected is ill-judged, and, perhaps, on occasion, ignorant and prejudiced, I have to tell you that, however you may despise dishonest or abusive language, you must not look to escape honest and fair criticism. The pursuit of pleasure instead of duty, expenditure on self-indulgence, of revenues that ought to be devoted to the public advantage, the neglect of opportunities which high position, ancient lineage, and great wealth can give, will not, in these days, escape observation, and will bring with them their own punishment, in the public reprobation which, I am bound to say, they will deserve. I am glad to know that, amongst the Chiefs of the Punjab, there are those who have recognised their responsibilities, and who, in the management of their States, have shown an example from which any one of us might take a lesson ; and I trust the good seed they have sown may bear fruit. Princes and Chiefs, I am not here to call you to deeds of arms, but I do invite you to a contest—a contest in which you have not to overcome a single rival, but to match yourselves against the whole world. You start with many advantages ; a country of marked fertility, an energetic and industrious population, personal prestige, peace abroad ; and if you and your people fail to respond to the summons, I at least have done my duty as representative of the Queen-Empress in placing before you, as strongly as I can, the obligation which lies upon you, as Her Majesty's loyal subjects, here in this portion of the Empire she loves so well, to dare and to achieve the same triumphs of peace that elsewhere have characterised and immortalised her glorious reign."

Sir Charles Elliott availed himself of his brief autumn holiday to pay a visit to the Nepalese Capital, where he was the guest of the Resident. During his stay, he received a visit from Sir Shumsher Jung, Rana Bahadur, the Prime Minister, and paid one to the Maharaja, and subsequently a reception was held at the Residency, at which the Maharaja attended. He was also present at a grand review of the troops held in his honour, and visited the local school and hospital, the shrine of Balajee, the Shivite temple of Pashupati, and the Buddhist temples of Boudh Nath and Shambhu Nath.

Not the least important event of the quarter has been the issue of a Forest Resolution by the Government of India, which may be said to mark a new departure in this branch of the administration. The principles laid down in this document, which had been, to some extent, foreshadowed by Sir E. Buck's Circular of October, 1891, are that the sole object with which Forests are administered by the State is the public benefit ; that the end aimed at should be the greatest good of the community, and, as far as possible, mere Revenue considerations must be subordinated to the convenience and welfare of the people in any way dependent on the forests. The subject is dealt with in considerable detail in the Resolution, in which forests are classified according to their character and the nature of the grounds for their preservation. Thus, where the need for this depends on physical conditions, they are to be preserved so far as may be essential to secure the object aimed at. Where they are sources of large and valuable timber, they are to be managed on commercial lines, but every reasonable facility is to be allowed the people on their margins to satisfy their customary needs on easy terms. Where the land is required for the purposes of agriculture, forest areas are to be unhesitatingly relinquished, on certain conditions, such as that valuable forest is not to be honeycombed by isolated patches of cultivation ; areas must not be cleared where the result would be sterilisation of the soil, or merely for temporary cultivation, and the like. In the case of minor forests which supply fuel, fodder or grazing, all revenue is not to be foregone ; but, while the wood and grass are to be preserved from destruction, the produce is to be supplied on moderate terms to the greatest advantage and convenience of the people.

It will not always be an easy matter to draw the line between undue severity and wasteful leniency in practice, but if Forest Officers act in the spirit in which the Resolution is framed, a serious and widespread cause of grievance will be greatly mitigated.

The long expected Army re-organisation scheme was published in the *Gazette of India* on the 26th October. Under it the

Army in India will consist of four Commands, the Punjab and the Bengal, comprising the Bengal Army ; the Madras, and the Bombay. These Commands will be under Lieutenant Generals, who will be under the direct command of the Commander-in-Chief of India. The District Commands will be distributed as under :—

PUNJAB COMMAND.

*Head-Quarters—**

1st class Districts

Lahore.

Punjab Frontier Force.

Rawal Pindi.

2nd class Districts.

Peshawar.

Sirhind.

BENGAL COMMAND.

*Head-Quarters—**

1st class Districts.

Meerut.

Oudh.

2nd class Districts.

Allahabad.

Assam.

Bundelkhand.

Narbudda.

Presidency.

Rohilkhand.

MADRAS COMMAND.

Head-Quarters, Octacamund.

Burma.

Secunderabad.

Bangalore.

Belgaum.

Madras.

Mandalay.

Rangoon.

Southern.

BOMBAY COMMAND.

Head-Quarters, Poona.

Mhow.

Poona.

Quetta.

Aden.

Bombay.

Deesa.

Nagpore.

Sindh.

The Secretary of State has given his final decision regarding the matter of the Behar Cadastral Survey, transferring one eighth of the cost from the tenants to the Government, and sanctioning a trial of Sir Charles Elliott's scheme for maintaining the record by means of a system of registration.

An important step, and one in advance of anything yet attempted by the British Government, is about to be taken in Mysore, where, as announced by the Dewan, in presenting his annual Budget to the Representative Assembly, the State has decided to grant facilities for the establishment of agricultural banks on the co-operative system.

The conversion scheme, the success of which has far surpassed general expectation, reached its final stage on the 8th

October, when a *Gazette of India* Extraordinary was issued, giving holders of outstanding loans the option of transferring them to the new $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents.

The Government of India in the Public Works Department, has announced that 520 lakhs will be given for irrigation and railway works in the current year, and 500 lakhs in each of the next two years. Among the projects to be taken in hand at once are the linking up of the narrow gauge from Cawnpore to Byramghat ; the Rohri-Kotri chord ; the Wazirabad—Lyallpore ; the Ennore—Madras section of the Bezwada line, and the Rutlam—Ujain line.

The Burmo-Chinese Convention has at last been ratified. It settles the frontier and recognises the Chinese suzerainty over Kiang-Hung. Trade from Burmah to China is to be restricted to two routes—by Manwyne and Sansi—, which, it is said, are neither the only nor the best routes in actual use, while trade from China to Burmah is to be allowed by all routes, a singularly one-sided arrangement for which there is no evident justification.

The members of the joint Anglo-French Commission for the delimitation of the Buffer State between Siam and French territory have been appointed, and are expected to assemble by the 1st January ; but their functions are limited to investigating and reporting, so that the matter may be still a long way from settlement.

The city of Poonah has been the scene of a recrudescence of the Hindu-Mahommedan feud. A serious riot occurred there on the night of the 12th September, owing to the members of a Hindu procession, contrary to the orders of the police, playing a harmonium while passing a mosque, where, it was claimed, the Mahommedans were engaged in public worship. The Mahomedans in the mosque expostulated, and, the Hindus refusing to desist, attacked them, but were outnumbered and driven off. Subsequently the Hindus ransacked the mosque, and during the rioting, which lasted till 3 A.M., many persons were injured, and one Mahommedan was killed. The shops in the city were closed, and great excitement prevailed for several days. A large number of arrests of Hindus were made by the police, and several of them were committed to the Sessions, where, however, they were all acquitted, the Judge holding that the police orders were illegal, and the accused had not exceeded the limits of self-defence.

An important Bill has been introduced into the Legislative Council of India by Sir A. MacDonnell, to amend the Police Act of 1886, by enabling Magistrates to exempt persons or classes whom they may consider blameless, from liability for the cost of punitive police quartered on a disturbed

locality ; to declare persons interested in land in such a locality liable for such cost, though they may not be actually resident or present on the spot ; and to levy compensation and award it to injured persons in cases of disturbances where no punitive police force has been quartered on the locality, besides other minor amendments.

The Government of India have declined to sanction the proposal of the Madras Government to introduce a Bill for the better control of Hindu endowments in that Presidency, as involving a departure from the policy of non-intervention deliberately arrived at thirty years ago ; and a similar decision has been arrived at, on a reference from the Government of Bengal, as regards the memorials recently submitted to it by the British Indian Association and the Indian Association on the same subject.

The obituary for the quarter includes the names of Alexander III, Czar of Russia ; the Duke of Somerset ; Earl Grey ; Viscount Drumlanrig ; M. Ferdinand de Lesseps ; Froude, the historian ; Rubenstein, the well-known musical composer ; Professor Helmholtz, the famous physicist ; Mr. P. G. Hamerton ; Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie, the sinologist ; Henry Herman, dramatist ; Heinrich Hoffman, the author of *Struwwelpeter* ; M. Louis Figuier ; Admiral Symond ; Bishop Blomfield ; Mr. John Walter, of the *Times* ; Mr. C. E. Kane, of the *Times of India* ; and Sir Alfred Stephen.

J. W. F.

December 10th, 1894.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Review of the Trade of India in 1893-94. By J. E. O'CONOR, C. I. E., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department ; Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society ; Member of the International Statistical Institute. Simla : Government Central Branch Press. 1894.

MR. O'CONOR is an authority on Economics possessed of critical insight as well as Catholic breadth of view. His carefully-thought-out statements and close-knitted conclusions do not admit of paraphrase ; and so, finding his review of the Trade of British India for the official year ending March 31, 1894, on our table, and having regard to the vital importance at this time of the exchange quandary, and the relations that our Sea-borne Foreign Trade bears to it, we opine that the best thing we can do in the interests of all those who are interested in the subject, is to reproduce his General Summary of the situation, as indicated by the figures shown and the teachings they are chargeable with. Here it is :—

Two events of the first importance stand out in the trade history of the year 1893-94. On the 26th June, 1893, the Indian mints were closed to the coinage of silver for the public, as a preliminary to the ultimate adoption of a gold standard. On the 10th March, 1894, a tariff of import duties on general merchandise was imposed, cotton yarns and goods being exempted. The régime of free trade, which was finally established in 1882 by the repeal of the then existing tariff, thus came to an end.

As the tariff came into operation only three weeks before the close of the year, it had no perceptible effect on trade, and any discussion of its operation must be adjourned until further experience has been gained by the lapse of time.

The closing of the mints, which took place towards the end of the first quarter of the year, had an immediate and most important bearing on trade, and the effects of the measure must be specially noticed.

It was mentioned in the review of the trade of 1892-93, that trade had been subject to unfavourable influences in the three years ending with that year :—

In 1890-91 its course was violently interrupted by a sudden and rapid rise in exchange followed by an equally sudden and rapid fall. In 1891-92 exchange fell still further and heavily, and a reaction in the import trade followed the temporary stimulus given to it by the rise in exchange in the preceding

year. Trade generally was depressed, except in wheat and seeds, for which there was a large demand arising out of the failure of the Russian and other European harvests. In 1892-93 this demand no longer existed, and the depression of trade continued, accompanied by a further fall in exchange so continuous and persistent as to create grave anxiety. Imports were greatly reduced in volume, merchants being reluctant to import and dealers to buy, while exchange remained in such conditions that transactions might involve them in the most serious embarrassments. Exports also were restricted, by reason partly of lack of demand in Europe where trade was generally much depressed, partly of abundant supplies from other countries, and partly of more or less unfavourable harvests in India.

In 1893-94 our foreign trade had to contend with the difficulties created by the continuance of trade depression in Europe, and by the financial and commercial conditions of the United States and Australia. On top of these difficulties came the measures taken by the Government for the reform of the currency which had the effect of temporarily dislocating and disorganising trade in a very remarkable manner. The subjoined figures give the value of the trade of the year and of the four preceding years :—

Imports—

| | | | 1889-90. Rx. | 1890-91. Rx. | 1891-92. Rx. | 1892-93. Rx. | 1893-94. Rx. |
|---------------|----|----|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Merchandise | .. | .. | 66,560,121 | 69,034,900 | 66,587,457 | 62,605,030 | 73,956,957 |
| Gold | .. | .. | 5,071,027 | 6,500,832 | 4,118,929 | 1,781,789 | 3,146,530 |
| Silver | .. | .. | 12,388,274 | 15,418,654 | 10,603,733 | 15,228,021 | 15,278,726 |
| Total Imports | .. | .. | 84,019,422 | 90,954,386 | 81,310,119 | 79,614,840 | 92,382,213 |

Exports—

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Foreign merchandise re-exported | | | 4,295,808 | 4,233,529 | 4,485,179 | 4,590,290 | 4,431,975 |
| Indian merchandise | .. | .. | 99,101,055 | 95,902,193 | 103,550,831 | 101,915,707 | 102,015,615 |
| Gold | .. | .. | 455,723 | 864,660 | 1,705,137 | 4,594,472 | 2,505,284 |
| Silver | ... | ... | 1,382,019 | 1,207,246 | 1,438,049 | 2,334,522 | 1,519,453 |
| Total Exports | .. | .. | 105,238,782 | 102,207,628 | 111,179,196 | 113,464,991 | 110,472,327 |

The total trade—imports and exports together—was—

| | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-------------|
| 1889 90 | ... | Rx. | 189,258,204 |
| 1890 91 | ... | " | 193,162,014 |
| 1891 92 | ... | " | 192,489,315 |
| 1892-93 | ... | " | 193,079,831 |
| 1893-94 | ... | " | 202,854,540 |

Including Government transactions the aggregate trade of the five years was—

| | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-------------|
| 1889 90 | ... | Rx. | 192,023,710 |
| 1890-91 | ... | " | 196,260,383 |
| 1891-92 | ... | " | 195,615,322 |
| 1892-93 | ... | " | 196,829,486 |
| 1893 94 | ... | " | 206,086,249 |

As soon as the mints were closed, exchange advanced from a rate of about 14½*d.* to 16*d.*, which was the rate at which the Government declared that gold would be received in exchange for silver. It became immediately apparent, however, that the advance was speculative and could not be maintained ; that the rupee currency was redundant ; and that the exchange value of

the rupee was much less than 16*d*. The rate began to fall, but meanwhile importers took advantage of the temporarily high rate, as they did in 1890-91, to put their goods on the Indian market as fast as possible. The market was ready to receive them, for the imports of the preceding year had been on a very restricted scale and stocks had run low. The imports continued very actively long after exchange had begun to fall, and indeed the trade was carried on quite to the end of the year with unusual vigour, importers being apprehensive that the rupee might continue its fall until it reached the level of its intrinsic value in silver, as was freely prophesied by some who incautiously assigned a date when that event would come to pass. The result was that the value of imported merchandise by the end of the year exceeded that of the preceding year by no less than 18 per cent.

Imports of gold also increased by over 76 per cent., but the imports of the preceding year had been relatively small, and imports of the year were below the average.

Imports of silver were even larger than in 1892-93 when they had been almost unprecedentedly large. It was always considered that, even with closed mints, an extensive demand for silver would exist in India, but nobody ever dreamt that the closure of the mints would be the signal for such colossal speculation in the metal as actually occurred. Speculation began as soon as it was rumoured that the mints would be closed, and great quantities were rushed into the country in the hope that they would arrive before the closure. The recommendations of Lord Herschell's Currency Committee were divulged in Europe some weeks before action was taken on them in India, and then further large quantities of silver were at once shipped to India in the hope that they might arrive before the mints were actually closed. As the months went by, the fall in the price of silver bullion stimulated speculation therein, the native purchaser of ornaments still remaining in the densest ignorance of the fact that silver and the rupee had been divorced and buying freely to take advantage of what he thought was temporary and inexplicable cheapness. These dealings were freely encouraged by the Banks who were unwilling to buy Council Bills, while the Secretary of State insisted on only offering them for sale at a fixed minimum, for the importation of bar silver enabled them to obtain rupees in India which, without those imports, they would have had to obtain through the medium of Council Bills. The importation continued largely until November, when there were indications of restriction in the business. But just then rumours were industriously circulated that the mints were to be reopened, and these were sufficient to revive speculation in full force. Not until quite the end of the

official year did the imports show a tendency to diminution. In the first three months of the present year the imports have been on a much smaller scale.

The total imports of merchandise, gold, and silver in the year were 16 per cent. larger than in the preceding year. They were larger by only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. than the imports of 1890-91, when similar exceptional results flowed from the existence of analogous conditions during a part of that year.

In the imports of merchandise we find that the largest increase, amounting to more than half of the whole—Rx. 63 $\frac{1}{4}$ millions out of an aggregate increase in all kinds of merchandise of Rx. 11 $\frac{1}{3}$ millions—occurred in cotton goods, including yarns. The imports of these in the preceding year had been on a most restricted scale, and stocks in the hands of traders had been reduced to a low level. The goods that were imported therefore found a ready market. Imports of metals, also, which had been relatively small in the preceding year, greatly increased. The increase in cotton goods and metals amounted to 68 per cent. of the whole increase, the value of these goods being little more than half of the aggregate import trade.

While the import trade was increasing to this unusual degree under the influence of the temporary stimulus which was given to it by the introduction of the currency reform, the export trade suffered from the action of the same influences.

The re-export trade (foreign merchandise) was rather smaller than in the preceding year, and the exports of Indian merchandise were only fractionally in excess of the trade of 1892-93. In most articles of this trade there was indeed a substantial increase, and in some the enlargement was noticeable. But three articles of great prominence in the trade fell off considerably, and the decline in these was great enough to produce the general result that the aggregate value of the exports of Indian merchandise exhibited no appreciable increase over that of the preceding year. In cotton yarn and goods there was a decline of Rx 1,858,100, being nearly 23 per cent. In opium the decline amounted to Rx. 1,235,585, being 13.3 per cent. In grain and pulse the decline was Rx. 4,237,830, being 20.6 per cent. If the value of the trade in these three items had remained at the level of the preceding year, the aggregate value of exports of Indian merchandise would have increased by Rx. 7,331,515 and would have been larger than that of 1891-92 by over 5 per cent.

The decline under grain and pulse was due, not to anything connected with the currency system, but entirely to the conditions of the European and Indian markets. The rice millers in Burma, unable to carry on a profitable trade with Europe at the low level of prices there prevailing for all grains, rice included, combined during the last two seasons to reduce the very

high prices which had been given for some years to producers, as the result of competition to secure sufficient unhusked rice for the working of the mills. The cultivators objected to the reduction and withheld their rice for as long as they could, with the result that comparatively little was brought in by them in January, February, and March 1894, and the exports of these months were much smaller than usual owing to this cause as well as to the fall in prices in Europe. Since the end of March, however, conditions have somewhat changed, higher prices have been given under the encouragement of better markets in Europe, and the trade has been more than normally large. Another cause for the restriction lay in the active demand in India for Burma rice at better prices than those ruling in the European markets, and the grain was shipped in the year in very large quantities to the ports of India.

It was anticipated early in the year 1893-94 that the export of wheat would not exceed the average. Price in India ruled high, the Panjab harvest had not turned out very well, and prices in Europe had fallen to such a low level as to make exports unprofitable. Prices continued to fall in Europe, under the influence of abundant harvests and large supplies, until they reached the lowest level on record; and, though prices also receded in India, business was unprofitable and the exports of the year were substantially below the average.

As regards the other articles—opium and cotton yarns and goods—the cause of the decline may be attributed mainly to the closure of the mints. That measure, while it was intended to restore steadiness to the exchanges with gold-standard countries with which three-fourths of our trade are carried on, had the effect—as was anticipated—of disturbing the exchanges with silver-standard countries with which the remaining fourth of our trade is carried on. The disturbance was sudden and violent. While the rupee appreciated in sterling exchange value, silver fell heavily in gold value and the sterling exchange value of the dollar fell in the same proportion. The dollar exchange between India and China, which had all along stood at about \$100 to Rs. 220, suddenly fell to about \$100 to Rs. 192, and until prices of commodities were adjusted to the new conditions trade was practically paralysed. But this disturbance of exchanges was not the sole, though it was the most important factor in the decline of trade. The exports of yarns in 1892-93 had been so large that the China markets had been overstocked and were dull and drooping. So difficult was it to carry on trade that, early in the year, proposals were made to work short-time in the Bombay mills in order to effect a reduction of stocks and an increase in price, and these proposals were carried into effect two months before the closure of the mints

and were in operation on the date of that event. In the case of opium the quantity offered for sale by Government during the year was smaller than usual in consequence of a reduction in the reserve caused by deficient crops for a series of seasons. But though the quantity exported was smaller, the average value per chest was about 140 rupees lower than in 1892-93, the fall of price being due to the dislocation of the dollar exchange.

The disturbance of exchange had, however, only a temporary effect on trade. By the end of November all necessary adjustments had practically been made, and trade had resumed its normal course, continuing to keep that course ever since.

Annotated Returns of the Charitable Dispensaries in Bengal for the year 1893. By Surgeon-Colonel ROBERT HARVEY, M.D., D.S.O., Officiating Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1894.

THE number of dispensaries open at the close of the year 1893, from which statistics were received for incorporation in the Provincial Returns, was 339, against 299 in the previous year. Of this increase of 40 in the number of dispensaries, 24 were new institutions opened during the year, the remainder being dispensaries of older standing, such as those maintained by the Irrigation Department and the Court of Wards, and also the Dufferin Hospitals for women, the statistics of which have now for the first time been included in the annual returns.

Two Local Fund dispensaries were sanctioned, at Samastipur and Sherghati, but not opened. Orders also were passed for bringing three more private dispensaries on the Government list, but two of these were not opened during the year, and no returns were received from the third. Besides these there are 13 dispensaries already in existence, maintained or aided by the Court of Wards and the Lady Dufferin Fund, the statistics of which have not been included in the present returns, though they will be included in future.

The total number of patients treated during the year was 1,926,528, against 1,613,771 in the previous year, showing an increase of 312,757. Excluding the number of patients (62,129) treated in those hospitals which have now for the first time been included in the Provincial Returns, the real increase was 250,628, against an increase of 117,717 in 1892 over the figures for 1891. The Lieutenant-Governor is glad to notice this steady advance in the figures of attendance, since it affords the best testimony to the good management and popularity of the charitable dispensaries in the mufassal. The daily average attendance of patients rose from 12,320 in 1892 to 15,426 in 1893. In 14 dispensaries the increase in the number of

patients was over 3,000 in each case, the most marked among them being Laheria Serai (Darbhanga) and Gopalganj (Faridpur), where the increase, respectively, was 14,506 and 7,149; on the other hand, there was a decrease of 2,000 and upwards in six cases, the largest being in Madhubani, where the number fell off by 7,849. The increase is generally attributed either to the growing popularity of the institution, or to the greater unhealthiness of the year, or to both causes; but these explanations are not always either convincing or consistent. For instance, an increase of nearly 7,000 in the Darbhanga Dispensary has been ascribed to the excessive prevalence of malarial fevers," whilst the falling off of 7,849 at Madhubani in the same district is said to be due to the "healthiness of the year." The falling off of 2,102 patients at Chanchal in the Maldah district is reported to have been occasioned by the temporary "absence of the permanent incumbent (medical subordinate in charge) on privilege leave," a reason which, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, is most insufficient.

One hundred and sixty-three dispensaries received both indoor and out-door patients, as against 148 in the previous year, the total number of in-patients treated being 40,589, against 37,845 in 1892, thus showing an increase of 2,744 persons. The total number of beds available rose from 2,357 in 1892 to 2,511, but the daily average of attendance was 1,693 only, which shows that full advantage is not yet taken of the accommodation provided for in-patients at hospitals. The attention of the managing bodies of these charitable institutions is again drawn to the remarks in the Resolution of last year, pointing out the advisability of providing suitable accommodation (1) for the relatives of patients near the dispensaries, and (2) for moribund cases and pauper patients. It is gratifying to notice that with a larger number of in-patients treated during the year, *viz.*, 40,589, against 37,845 of the previous year the number of deaths in hospitals fell off from 5,107 to 5,059, the death-rate of inmates being thus reduced from 13'49 to 12'46 per cent. The percentage of mortality was as usual largest in the hospitals along the pilgrim route to Puri, the proportion rising in one case as high as 49 per cent. of the patients treated. Evidently a large proportion of the sufferers were in a moribund condition when received into the hospital.

With the exception of a single year (1885), the number of out-door patients has gone on increasing every year during the last decade, the number having almost doubled during that period. It is satisfactory to notice that twenty-two dispensaries had an average daily attendance of 100 and upwards in 1893 as against sixteen which reached this standard in the

previous year. The largest average daily attendance (267) was at the Municipal dispensary at Chapra.

As usual, "malarial fevers" contributed the largest number of cases treated at the dispensaries, forming no less than 21·1 per cent. of the total number of cases treated both in-door and out-door, against a percentage of 19·2 in the previous year. The number of fever cases rose from 320,113 in 1892 to 408,043 during 1893, and even allowing for the figures returned from the new dispensaries it is clear that there was a very large increase in the number of fever patients, and that in the year 1893 fever was very common. Cases of bowel-complaints (dysentery and diarrhœa) rose from 71,781 to 87,243. The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals attributes the unusual prevalence of these diseases to the prolonged and heavy rains of the year, and though the Sanitary Commissioner's vital statistics show that the fever mortality was not high, the ratio being only 20·78 per thousand as against 22·84 in 1892, it is clear that a larger proportion of fever patients came to the dispensaries for relief. The number of cases of cholera and small-pox fell off from 9,795 and 191 in 1892 to 8,077 and 91 respectively; and although it is well known that such cases are only in rare instances brought to a hospital, it may be inferred from a comparison of the figures for the two years, that these diseases were on the whole less prevalent during the year 1893 than during 1892. The statistics in the Sanitary Commissioner's Report fully corroborate this inference. The number of lepers who attended at the hospitals was 3,286, against 2,769 in 1892, the largest number being treated at the Darbhanga and Laheria Serai dispensaries, *viz.*, 209 and 138, respectively.

The total number of surgical operations, both major and minor, increased from 86,915 in 1892 to 92,476 during the year under review. The Lieutenant-Governor holds that it is on the success of these operations that the fame and popularity of charitable dispensaries largely depends. We take leave to differ from his Honor on this point. Our experiences leading us to believe that very many sick persons whose pains might be eased or eradicated by competent professional treatment are, by reports—whether well founded or false is not the question—of professional preference for recourse to the knife, rather than to physic, induced to fear hospitals and dispensaries more than they do a lingering death.

The number of operations for cataract (extraction of the lens) fell off from 2,333 in 1892 to 2,221 during 1893. The number of lithotomies performed during the year as compared with the previous year fell from 191 to 143. Surgeon-Major Whitwell (Gaya) operated in the largest number of cases, *viz.*, 21. Eight ovariectomies were performed, and in five cases death

occurred: this result is explained by the fact that only the very worst cases submit to operation.

The total number of females treated during the year, both as in-door and out-door patients, was 299,187, against 249,410, showing an increase of 49,777, or 19 per cent. Although this represents but an infinitesimal fraction of the female population of these provinces, the advance is satisfactory, and it is expected that, with the gradual increase in suitable accommodation provided by the construction of Dufferin Hospitals throughout the province, the number of female applicants for medical help will increase, though the progress is necessarily slow. The average daily attendance of female in-patients was no more than 346, although 718 beds were available for them.

The total income of the dispensaries during 1893, inclusive of the opening balance of Rs. 25,289, was Rs. 6,14,737, against Rs. 5,48,699 of the previous year, which included a larger opening balance of Rs. 35,327. The net increase in the income was Rs. 76,076, due, to a large extent, to the inclusion of the statistics of a number of dispensaries for the first time this year. The increase was contributed largely by Government (Rs. 13,457), by Local as distinguished from Municipal Funds (Rs. 25,162), and by subscription from natives of India (Rs. 35,232). The latter appear chiefly under institutions which had not been included in the returns in previous years.

The total expenditure of the year was Rs. 5,86,365 against Rs. 5,23,544, showing an increase of Rs. 62,821.

Report on the Financial Results of the Income-Tax Administration in the Lower Provinces for the year 1893-94. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1894.

THE following statement compares the financial results of the income-tax during the last two years:—

| | 1892-93. Persons. | 1893-94. Persons. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Number of persons originally assessed, excluding Government servants ... | 106,142 | 107,741 |
| Number of persons finally assessed, excluding Government servants ... | 103,894 | 105,476 |
| Number of persons finally assessed, including Government servants ... | 111,858 | 113,770 |
| Number of assesseees, including Government servants, who paid the tax within the year ... | 108,818 | 110,483 |
| | Rs. | Rs. |
| Final demand of income-tax for the current year ... | 41,73,554 | 43,51,144 |
| Final demand, including penalties, fines, and arrears of previous years ... | 44,50,299 | 46,06,032 |
| Collections of income-tax within the year | 40,60,705 | 41,97,022 |

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|-----------|
| Total actual receipts, including advance and excess payments and after-adjustments | ... | ... | ... | 42,25,366 | 43,48,453 |
| Charges | ... | ... | ... | 1,80,171 | 1,76,272 |
| Percentage of charges on total actual receipts | ... | ... | ... | 4.3 | 4.1 |
| Net revenue | ... | ... | ... | 40,45,195 | 41,72,181 |

The net revenue, it will be seen, shows an increase of Rs. 1,26,986, or 3 per cent., against a decrease of 1.8 per cent. in the preceding year. Including advance payments and excess collections, and making allowance for various adjustments, the actual receipts at the close of the year amounted to Rs. 43,48,453, against Rs. 42,25,366 in the previous year. The receipts on account of the current demand for 1893-94 amounted to Rs. 42,27,219, which is Rs. 1,40,792 in excess of similar receipts in the previous year.

The increase in the final demand occurred in every district, except Howrah, the 24-Parganas, Khulna, Darjeeling, Mymensingh, Cuttack, and Singhbhum, and is attributed to fresh and enhanced assessments resulting from more careful and systematic enquiries on the part of the assessing officers. In Howrah the decrease was insignificant, and in Mymensingh it amounted to only one per cent. of the former demand. In the 24-Parganas, however, the percentage was 9.6, in Cuttack 6.8, in Singhbhum 6.2, in Darjeeling 4.6, and in Khulna 3.7. Various causes are alleged for the large decline in the 24-Parganas, but the Lieutenant-Governor is not disposed to accept the explanation without reserve. Failure of crops in Khulna, decline of trade in Cuttack, and an outbreak of rinderpest affecting the incomes of cart-owners and dairy farmers, and the removal of a number of contractors on the completion of certain large works, in Darjeeling, are assigned as the causes of the decrease in those districts. In Singhbhum it is probable, as the Board think, that the reduction is due mainly to the negligence of the assessors. The Board mention that Mr. Lyall, while inspecting the Puri Income-tax Office, found that the ground-rents liable to taxation had not been taxed, and that, as the result of this discovery, ground-rents in municipal areas have since been brought under assessment in all the districts in Orissa.

The outstanding balance at the close of the year, including penalties, &c., aggregated Rs. 2,66,987, against Rs. 2,48,747 in 1892-93. Of this balance, Rs. 60,742 are reported to be good and under realization, Rs. 1,19,464 doubtful, and Rs. 86,781 bad and irrecoverable.

The only districts which succeeded in collecting the entire demand within the year were Balasore and Puri.

Sir Charles Elliott attributes shortcomings from his ideal standard of realizations to lack of energy and promptitude in the assessment and collection of the tax. Its unpopularity he does not apparently consider a factor worth taking into account in the calculation, although he admits that the tax is greatly disliked. He notes that the large outstanding balances are attributed in Birbhum and Calcutta to the completion of the assessments towards the end of the year, and remarks, with reference to this apology, that Mr. N. K. Bose, in his report, has not explained why such delay occurred.

The percentage of objections to assessment was, as last year, highest in Gaya (31·6) and Puri (23). The percentage of successful objections exceeded 50 in the 24-Parganas (64·8), Darjeeling (62), Purnea (61·9), Khulna (53·8), and Calcutta (52·6). These percentages, it is ruled, are not creditable to the officers against whose assessments the objections were preferred. After full allowance for the difficulty of estimating profits in the absence of accounts, it is clear that the assessments were hasty and injudicious in many cases.

Excluding the tax on interest of Government securities and the salaries of officials, the average incidence of the tax on the whole population of the province was Re. 1 to every 18·4 persons, against 19·2 in the previous year. Without Calcutta, the average was Re. 1 to every 35·7 inhabitants against Re. 1 to every 36·9 inhabitants in 1892-93. Darjeeling again shows the highest mufassal average (Re. 1 to every five persons) and Cuttack the lowest (Re. 1 to every 82 persons). In Calcutta the average incidence was Re. 1 to every 4 persons, and one person in every 39 persons was assessed to the tax, the proportion for the whole of Bengal being 1 in 674, against 1 in 684 in the previous year.

The coercive measures which had to be taken for the realization of the tax are shown in the following statement :—

| YEAR. | Number of persons finally assessed. | DISTRESS WARRANTS. | | CASES OF DISTRAINT. | | CASES OF SALE. | |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| | | Number | Percentage to column 2. | Number. | Percentage to column 2. | Number. | Percentage to column 2. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 1891-92 ... | 103,176 | 6,450 | 6·2 | 2,329 | 2·2 | 333 | ·3 |
| 1892-93 ... | 103,894 | 5,559 | 5·4 | 2,460 | 2·4 | 362 | ·3 |
| 1893-94 ... | 105,476 | 5,920 | 5·6 | 2,290 | 2·2 | 288 | ·3 |

In the majority of cases payment is made on the issue of the warrants, while in the remainder distraint suffices and sales are rare. Wilful recusancy, we are told, doubtless accounts for

a large proportion of the warrants. Also that the number in some districts is excessive. Sir Charles thinks that earlier completion of the assessments would obviate the issue of coercive process, which is often found necessary towards the close of the year.

The proportion of warrants issued on the number of persons assessed was above 10 per cent. in the districts of Singhbhum, Jessore, Khulna, Muzaffarpur, Noakhali, Gaya, and Jalpaiguri. The first four districts showed a high percentage in 1892-93 also. In eight districts no sales took place, while they were most numerous in Jessore, Rangpur, and Khulna. In Calcutta distress warrants were issued in 1,499 cases, but in one case only was sale found necessary.

The amount of tax collected under section 9 (2) of the Income-tax Act, which permits private employers to undertake the collection of the tax from their employes on receipt of a commission from the Government, was Rs. 2,66,584, against Rs. 2,47,918 in the previous year. The number of companies, &c., who undertook to collect the tax again fell from 324 to 307. The Board of Revenue is inclined to recommend an increase of the commission allowed, in order to offer greater inducement to companies and other employers to enter into agreements with the Government. The present rate of commission does not appear to the Lieutenant-Governor inadequate for the small trouble imposed, but he will be prepared to consider any proposals which the Board may desire to submit. The special provision of the law, he says, cannot be expected to work with advantage where the number of the employes liable to taxation is very small. With a large number of such employes the commission offered is remunerative to the employer, and also repays the Government by the amount of relief given to the collecting establishment.

The expenditure incurred in the working of the tax fell from Rs. 1,80,171 in 1892-93 to Rs. 1,76,272. In view of the increased collections and the appointment of a whole-time officer as Collector of Calcutta, the decrease is considered very satisfactory.

The system of payment by money-order continues to gain in popularity. Only one case of embezzlement of a very trifling character was discovered during the year.

Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st December, 1893. By J. B. THOMSON, ESQ., C.S., Inspector-General of Police, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1894.

THE Report on the Administration of the Police in the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh for the year 1893 does not make cheerful reading.

Riots, cases of grievous hurt, and hurt by dangerous weapons, kidnapping, dakáitis and robberies have increased, while the number of murders and culpable homicide cases remains fairly constant. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that while the increase in the number of riots is, to some extent, due to the cow-protection, Bakr-Id and Muharrum disturbances, which unhappily characterised the year, yet the great bulk of this class of offences was purely agrarian in character. Azamgarh headed the list with 87 riot cases for disposal, in which 481 persons were convicted. According to the District Superintendent's report, 39 of these, in which 718 persons were arrested and 343 convicted, were connected with the cow-protection movement. The increase in dakáitis is attributed to the organized bands of dakáits which infested the Tarái and Pilibhít in the early months of the year, and to the still more formidable gang which, in November and December, under Bijai Singh, terrorised the districts of Manipuri and Budaun. Both these gangs have now, however, been utterly broken up, and the prominent members for the most part convicted. The gang of Bihari and Badan Singh, of whose operations the District Superintendent of Agra gives a graphic account, may also be considered to have been suppressed, as only two members, out of eleven, were unaccounted for at the end of the year. The districts of Banda, Hamírpur, and Jhánsi, including the sub-division of Lalitpur—where, in former years, dakáiti of the professional type, has been rife—had, in 1893, a remarkably clear record. Credit for this is deservedly given to the exertions of Mr. Hankin, the Superintendent of the Thagi and Dakáiti Department in Central India, who has effectively cleared the border of a number of desperate characters. In departmental return No. I, the Rohilkhand Division still retains an undesirable pre-eminence in heinous crime. There were fewer murders in it (72 against 98 in 1892), but dakáitis increased from 54 to 68, and robberies from 96 to 164. Among individual districts, Kheri and Meerut return the most murders (26 each), Budaun the most dakáitis (17), and Bareilly the most robberies (74).

The percentage of convictions to cases investigated by the police was 49 against 41 in 1892. The apparent improvement is, however, Sir Charles Crossthwaite considers, wholly due to the orders relieving the police from the necessity of investigating certain petty classes of crime. Thus, in 1892, the police investigated over 42,000 cases of lurking house-trespass, or house-breaking, and obtained 5,215 convictions, the resultant percentage being only 12. In 1893 they investigated under 28,000 such cases, yet they obtained 5,203 convictions, the resultant percentage being 19. The cases they were relieved

of investigating in 1893 were those of the hopeless kind, in which no property was taken, and no clue to the offender was furnished by the complainant. The higher percentage of convictions to investigations in such circumstances is no testimony to more efficient police action. Under the more serious classes of crime, in which investigation is obligatory, the results of 1893 were much the same as those of 1892. Under class I, the percentage of convictions to investigations was 76 in both years, and under class II, 74 to 72 in 1892.

The percentage of convictions to cases reported was 21·4 against 21·3 in 1892, excluding sanitary cases.

His Honour is severe on the Police in the matter of cattle thefts. He writes in his Resolution on the Police Report:—

Reports of cattle theft have fallen from 8,431 in 1892 to 5,591 in 1893. In your special report on cattle theft, which was received on the 16th July, you, however, show no less than 5,777 reports of cattle theft in 1893 in the 33 districts in which the special cattle theft rules are in force. There is a like discrepancy in the number of persons said to have been concerned in such cases. You are requested to explain the cause of these discrepancies in the two sets of returns. Both returns show a large decrease in the number of reports compared with the returns for 1892. The decrease is mainly due to a change in recording such cases by the police. Up to May 1893, in the districts in which the special rules are in force, reports of cattle 'strays' were, under standing orders, recorded as thefts, if the cattle were not recovered within 15 days. Since May 1893 these orders have been altered, and simple strays are no longer counted as thefts. Comparison between the number of reports in the years 1892 and 1893 is, therefore, futile. As regards police action in such cases, there was a distinct decrease in the number of cases in which convictions were obtained and in the number of persons convicted. The special report shows that in this branch of police work there is much room for improvement. The provisions of the special rules in force in districts in which professional cattle-lifting prevails have been allowed in many of these districts to drop out of sight by District Superintendents. There has been little co-operation between district and district: the district registers of professional cattle thieves have been perfunctorily kept up: habitual offenders were insufficiently identified, and when identified have, in few cases, been dealt with under section 75 of the Penal Code.

Note on the Administration of the Registration Department of the Punjab for the year 1893-94. Lahore : The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Contractors to the Punjab Government. 1894.

THE number of registrations and the income of the Department in the year 1892-93 was the highest on record. In the year under review there has been a falling-off in both respects, and it is held not unlikely that the Inspector-General is right in attributing this to the harvests of 1893-94 having been better than those of the preceding year. The total number of documents registered in 1893-94 was 117,646, and the net income of the Department amounted to Rs. 1,82,877. Both these figures are higher than the corresponding figures for any year previous to 1892-93.

Notes on the Annual Returns of the Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st December 1893. By Surgeon-Colonel W. P. Warburton, M.D., Officiating Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad : North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1894.

DURING the year the number of hospitals and dispensaries rose from 315 to 328. One dispensary in the Mirzapur District was closed on account of the failure of local support. Fourteen new ones were opened, of which eight are controlled by District Boards, four are female hospitals in connection with the Dufferin Fund Association and aided by the State under the grant-in-aid rules, one an aided Mission dispensary, and one an unaided female dispensary. Notwithstanding that the year was unusually healthy, the attendance continued to increase. The number of patients treated in the hospitals existing at the beginning of the year was 3,603,286 as against 3,432,351 in 1892. In the 14 hospitals and dispensaries opened during the year, 74,549 patients received relief, the total increase on the figures of 1892 in the number of patients being thus 245,484. The Lieutenant-Governor regrets that it should ever be possible, as is stated to have been the case in Ghazipur in 1892, for returns of attendance to be fabricated to such an extent as to cast doubts upon their substantial accuracy.

In three only of the women's hospitals was the daily average in excess of the number of beds, but in no case was overcrowding serious. In nine male hospitals also the average number was in excess of the accommodation, but not seriously, except in the Colvin Hospital at Allahabad and in the Bareilly and Muttra Hospitals. The total number of beds increased from 2,161 to 2,299 for males and from 997 to 1,064 for females.

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CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Migration of Symbols. By the COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, Hibbert Lecturer, 1891; Senator and Member of the Royal Academy of Belgium. With an Introduction by Sir George Birdwood, M.D., K.C.I.E. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., Publishers to the India Office. 1894.

IN the minds of many men, and of more women, outward and visible signs of their affiliation with religious truth bulk as largely in importance as inward spiritual grace; and so it happens that always, in all parts of the world, civilized as well as savage symbolism has been held in worshipful regard by the *profanum vulgus*. This reverent attitude towards signs and tokens has been encouraged, not only by Priests imbued with the instinctive fondness for mysticism common to the hierarchies of all religious cults, but even by such dissentients from the dominion of priestcraft as have been keen witted enough to discern their utility as a buckler against the immobilities of dogma, and the tyranny of the written word that changes not with the changes worked by time, the constantly-altering conditions of progressive civilizations. A pertinent example, drawn from our own times, of this often-overlooked justificatory value of symbolism may be found well noted in the pages of M. Leroy-Beaulieu's book *L'Empire des Tzars*, in which he draws attention to the fact that symbolic interpretations of texts and ceremonies have helped the 'Old Believers' in their struggle for liberty in doctrine, and shows how they have secured this enfranchisement without breaking with the traditional symbols of the Greek Church, retention of which popularised and aided the cause of essential reform. Reference is made to this testimony to the inherent vitality of symbolism in Count Goblet d'Alviella's *Migration of Symbols*: a work on which is unmistakeably stamped the impress of much erudition and a wide purview of the domain of cosmic myth, mysticism, religious magic, profane occultism, and man's mental attitude at different periods and amongst different races towards these variants. It is an English rendering of *La Migration des Symboles* published at Paris in 1892: and Sir George Birdwood, in an Introduction, vouches for the perfect accuracy of the translation. "One of Messrs. Archibald Constable and Company's special objects" (he writes)—

"In publishing the present English translation of the Count Goblet d'Alviella's alluring book has been to bring it within the reach of the

Schools of Art throughout the United Kingdom ; the other being to make it as widely accessible as possible to archæological students in India, where so much of the symbolism of antiquity still survives as a quickening religious and æsthetic force, permeating the entire mass of the Hindu populations,—like that idealizing thread of scarlet which runs through the ropes used in the British Royal Navy, ‘from the strongest to the weakest,’—elevating it by the constantly felt presence of the unseen realities of human life, and the diffusion throughout it of a popular spiritual culture ; and where, consequently, the clues to the mystery of so many historical emblems may be successfully followed up on every hand, even among the humblest and the most illiterate.”

In another place the author’s method of pursuing his investigations on a severely inductive basis meets with approbation : he is declared to have, single-handed, raised an enigmatic subject of inquiry to its proper position as a department of archæological research. Sir George characteristically adds his hope that the work may exert an abiding influence on the future of the decorative designs of the artistic industries of the West. In any case, its scope is far-reaching. *Apropos* of that consideration, by way of assisting in clearing the way for reverent study of symbolism, and in deference to the alarms of the ultra-susceptible Social Purity Leagues now in vogue, we are fain to take another extract from the Introduction : “Only three years ago,” Sir George Birdwood writes—

“I recorded in the *Times** the flogging, by order of the Police Magistrate of Black Town, Madras, of a Hindu boy ‘for exhibiting an indecent figure in public view.’ What he had explicitly done was to set up, in accordance with universal custom, a phallic image before a house that was in course of erection by a Mr. K. Streevanasa, who was first tried under the indictment, but was acquitted, he, the owner, not having been the person who had actually exhibited the image. It is the fact that the image referred to is often very naturally fashioned in Southern India, a most fortunate fact in relation to the history of art ; but even so it conveys no more idea of indecency to a Hindu, than do the words ‘fascination,’ ‘testimony’ [cf. Genesis, xxiv., 2, 3, 9 ; xxxii., 25 ; and xlvii., 29], ‘Lord and Lady’ [*Arum sps.* :], ‘orchid,’ *et-cætera*, to ourselves. It has indeed for the Hindus a significance of the highest sanctity, of which only the remotest trace remains in the words ‘fascination’ and ‘testimony,’ and of which there is no trace in the word ‘orchid’ or ‘orchis,’ the ‘testiculus’ of the Romans, unless possibly through its Greek synonym *στυύόιον*. The image was indeed set up before Mr. Streevanasa’s house as a symbol of the Deity in whose strength alone can any work of man be surely established, and as a devout and public acknowledgment that, in the words of the Hebrew Psalmist :—‘Except the Lord build the house they labour in vain that build it.’ The pillars Jachin and Boaz set up by King Solomon before the porch of his temple at Jerusalem [1 Kings, vii., 21] had exactly the same significance, and their restorations by Chipiez and Perrot, although they disclose none of the offensive realism sometimes observed in similar phallic presentments in the Madras Presidency, are not nearly so severely conventional as those to be everywhere seen in Northern and Western India.”

* Of September 3rd, 1891.

Commencing his work *ab ovo* with etymology, Count Goblet d'Alviella reminds us that the word *σύμβολον*, originally applied to the two halves of the tablet which the old world Greeks divided with a friend as a pledge of hospitality, was gradually extended to the engraved shells by which those initiated in the mysteries made themselves known to one another. Whiles, it was applied to the more or less esoteric formulas and sacramental rites that constituted the visible bond of their freemasonry. At the same time its meaning was so amplified as to include, on the one hand, oracles, omens, and every extraordinary phenomenon that could be twisted into a warning from Olympus, and on the other hand applied to military pass-words, badges of corporate bodies, tokens of attendance, and pledges of every description, from wedding ring to signet ring deposited before partaking of a banquet as guarantee for due payment of the feaster's share of the bill. In course of time the term came to be used for everything that, whether by general agreement or analogy, conventionally represented something or somebody. Our author, for his part, defines a symbol as a representation which does not aim at being a reproduction. And he suggests that symbolism is an alchemy potent to endue base and common objects with illimitable values: "The scrap of cloth which, in ordinary circumstances, we discard as a rag, at the top of a staff sums up all the aspirations included in the idea of one's country; and two crossed lines suffice to recall to millions of Christians the redemption of the world by the voluntary sacrifice of a God."

Students of symbolism are warned against being misled in the identification of symbols by merely superficial resemblances:—

On the famous Damietta stone, the Greek words *Πτολεμαῖος Σωτήρ*, "Ptolemy the Saviour," are rendered by the demotic characters forming the equivalent of *Πτολεμαῖος*, followed by the sign †; from which the author concludes that the term Saviour being rendered by a cross, this sign was, with the Egyptians, an allusion to the future coming of the Redeemer.* Unhappily for this ingenious interpretation, M. de Harlez, who has taken the trouble to refute M. Ansault's article, points out to him that in demotic the sign † is the simplest form of a hieroglyph representing a hammer, or a boring tool, and is usually employed to express the idea of grinding, avenging, and by amplification, "the Grinder," "the Avenger," a not uncommon epithet of Horus, and some other gods.†

Possibilities and probabilities of migration must be taken account of. "Whatever the similarity of form, and even of meaning, may be between two symbolic figures of different

* *Le culte de la croix avant Jésus-Christ*, in the French periodical, *Le Correspondant* of the 25th October 1889.

† *Le culte de la croix avant le christianisme*, in *La Science Catholique* of the 15th February 1890, p. 163.

origin, it is proper, ere we assert their relationship, to show the probability, or at least the possibility, of international relations which would have served as a vehicle of transport." Differing from Fergusson and the School he belonged to, our author maintains that the most ancient reliques of Indian sculpture and carving—when they do not bear witness to the direct influence of Greek art—are of Persian derivation, and, through Persia, connected with Assyria and Egypt. Yet he is prepared to admit that art throughout the extreme East was profoundly modified through the influence of the Buddhist types which proceeded directly from India. Briefly, his position is that, whether we start from Japan, from Greece, from India, or even from Libya, Etruria, or Gaul, we are bound to arrive at last at two great centres of artistic diffusion, partially irreducible as regards one another, *viz.*, Egypt and Chaldæa. Symbols followed the same paths as did purely ornamental schemes, and were transmitted in the same manner, at the same periods, and in nearly the same proportion. "In a word, the two classes of importations are joined together to such a degree that, in writing the history of art, we write, to a great extent, the history of symbols, or at least of their migrations." From the extremely limited number of signs and figures current in the world, and their frequent repetitions, or combinations, among nations far apart, geographically speaking, it might be inferred that antique symbolism had at its disposal no others. But the inference would be a wrong one, for "the variety of symbolic representations has no more limits than the spirit of analogy." The tradition of the elders, and a favouritism rooted and grounded in imaginative associations of thought, are really accountable for most repetitions. Sometimes, there is repetition *cum* innovation in the guise of attempted fusion of oppositional emblems; as when Constantine chose for his standard that labarum which might be claimed both by the religion of Christ and the worship of the sun; as when Hakon Adulsteinfostri, first Christian king of Norway, obliged to drink to Odin at an official banquet, compromised with his conscience by telling his guests it was the sign of Thor's hammer he had traced with his finger on the bowl, and not the cross; as the Solar Wheel, converted to Buddhistic uses, became the wheel of the law; as the Brahmoists of contemporary India have testified to their religious eclecticism by interweaving the *Om* of the Hindus with the Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross, Count d'Alviella feels assured that each successive religion preserves in its rites and symbols survivals of the whole series of which it is the legitimate heir. Complaint need not be made on this score, he thinks, since it is not the vessel that is important,

but the wine which we pour into it ; not the form, but the ideas which animate and transcend that form :—

There comes a time when religions, which deal largely with the supernatural, come into collision with the progress of the different branches of knowledge, and, above all, with the growing belief in a rational order of the universe. Symbolism then offers them a means of safety, of which they have more than once taken advantage, in order to keep abreast of the times. If we take nations in a lower stage of development, we find among them *fetiches*—i.e., beings and objects invested at pleasure with superhuman faculties—then idols, which are *fetiches* carved to resemble a human being or animal. But we do not find any symbols as long as there is neither the desire to depict what is abstract by what is concrete, nor the consciousness that there is no identity between the symbol and the reality thus represented. When the mind opens itself to the conception of abstract or invisible gods, it may preserve its veneration for its ancient *fetiches*, but under the condition of looking upon them henceforth as but representative signs of the divinities. Lastly, when people can conceive of a supreme God of whom the ancient divinities are simply the ministers, or the hypostases, these antique representations may yet have a part to play, provided however that they be referred to the perfections and attributes of the Superior Being in whom the Divine World is resolved.

Such, the student is advised, is the evolution he may observe in the midst of all the ancient worships, and still at work, often unconsciously on the part of its promoters, in many a contemporary religion.

Chapter III, on the causes of alteration in the meaning and form of symbols, yields curious instances of what M. Clermont-Ganneau has called *iconological mythology* as in the frequent comparison of the rising sun to a new-born child. Amongst the Egyptians it led to the representation of Horus as an infant sucking its finger. The Hellenic bent of mind favoured finger on lip, enjoining secrecy on the initiated, and Horus developed into Harpocrates, the god of silence. Egyptians of a later period took to representing Horus under the form of a horseman piercing a crocodile with his spear. M. Clermont-Ganneau finds in this idealisation a symbolical image of the rising sun dispersing morning clouds and night wrack. That is debateable ground ; but beyond doubt Horus and the crocodile served as models for St. George vanquishing the Dragon, and, intermediately, of Bellerophon slaying the Chimæra. An even better example is derived from images common on Chaldæan cylinders of the hero, Izdhubar or Gilgames, flanked by two lions, which he holds at arm's length. Originally diffused amongst Hindus and Greeks to symbolize the exploits of a solar hero, it was, in the Middle Ages, imported into pictorial representations of the steadfast behaviour of Daniel in the lions' den. Two plates, one of Mithra slaying the Bull, from a bas-relief in the

Louvre, and one of Samson killing the Lion, on a lintel of St. Gertrude's Church at Nivelles, Belgium, are given on page 88, the latter certainly suggestive of reminiscences or regurgitations of the former. Nor is this strange; for it is on record that the worship of Mithras was practised in Belgium at the time of the Roman domination. Witnesses to this are the inscriptions "*Deo Invicto Mithræ*" that have been found in the Gallo-Roman cemetery at Juslenville. Again, from the Roman Catacombs there has been brought to light a Christian bas-relief of the third or fourth century in which our Lord is represented in the form of Orpheus, playing on the Lyre, with a Phrygian cap on the head, and the right leg reposing on the body of a lamb. Every scholar knows, and most Christian teachers blink, the fact which M. d'Alviella does well to refresh their memories withal, that—

When the Christians began to reproduce on the walls of the Catacombs the scenes of the Old Testament and the parables of the New, it was from classic, and even mythological art that they took their first models. Hermes' Criophoros furnished the type of the Good Shepherd* Orpheus taming the wild beasts became a symbol of Christ and of his preaching. The Christian clinging to the Cross, in order to overcome temptations, was represented by Ulysses bound to the mast of his ship, so as to resist the song of the Sirens. By an ingenious application of a myth which paganism had already spiritualised, Psyche offered the image of the human soul united to Love, replaced by an angel.†

India has afforded instances of similar assimilations induced by contact with the symbolism of nations more advanced in art, less circumscribed in culture, by a narrow conservatism:—

A legend which M. Gustave le Bon found in Nepaul claims to justify the presence of the Thunderbolt in the temples of the country, by stating that Buddha had wrested it from the god Indra.‡ The assertion is true in this sense, that Buddhism, after having precipitated from his supreme rank the Master of the Brahminical Olympus, made of his terrible and capricious instrument an ally of man in the struggle against the powers of evil. It is interesting to note the fact that with us, too, the antique and redoubtable attribute of the Master of the Thunder has become the emblem of lightning removed from the blind direction of natural forces and placed by science at the service of human industry. Are there many other symbols which can boast of such a long and fruitful career?

The ties that link together the Paradisaic trees of Semites and Indo-Europeans, Hindus in particular, are learnedly and pleasantly expounded in a chapter on the transmutation of

* The origin of this type is found, perhaps, among the Phœnician people, where it was merely meant to represent the believer, or the sacrificer, bringing the sheep or the ram destined for the sacrifice. (Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, vol. iii, figs. 307, 308, and 402.)

† Th. Roller's. *Les catacombes de Rome*. Paris, vol. ii., pp. 370-372.

‡ Gustave le Bon's. *Voyage au Népal* in the *Tour du Monde*, 1886, vol. li., p. 266.

symbols, from which we should like to quote, but that we have already exceeded our fair share of space in the *Review*. Scholars should read the book for themselves : a more fascinating one, we venture to say, they have not had an opportunity of enjoying for a long while.

South Indian Buddhist Antiquities : Including the Stûpas of Bhattiprôlu Gudivâda, and Ghantasâlâ and other ancient sites in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency. With Notes on Dome Construction, Andhra Numismatics and Marble Sculpture. By ALEX REA, M.R.A.S., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras. Madras : The Superintendent, Government Press. 1894.

THE Archæological Survey of India does exemplary work by fits and starts, whenever the straitened circumstances of the Imperial Government admit of a little generous fellow feeling for antiquity and bygone wisdom. To its courtesy we are indebted for a handsomely illustrated copy of Mr. Alexander Rea's *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*. He describes and comments on the results of excavations recently conducted at the Stûpas of Bhattiprôlu, Gudivâda, and Ghantasâlâ in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency. Admirably has he accomplished his difficult task. To begin with, comparison is instituted between the different methods employed in the construction of the brick domes investigated at the sites mentioned. Immense hollow domes of semi-spherical or flatter section, having no trace of arching, built with unmortared bricks (and bad bricks at that) laid from base to summit in horizontal courses, are marvelled at. Their moral would seem to be similar to that conveyed by the Pyramids and the ruins of Nineveh—to wit that, the conceit of modernity notwithstanding, there were ingenious engineers born into the world before the motive forces of steam had been discovered, and the way made easy for many inventions. In the stûpas explored the materials of the dome stuffings were found to be, mainly, earth, mud, and concrete. The moral of their long endurance appears to be that 'properly-made concrete is as secure as masonry.' Further, it appears that a simple earth packing has been generally employed only in the smaller buildings. The largest have, in addition, interior cross walls, or are of solid construction throughout ; and these walls and solidities have not worn as well as the unsophisticated earthen ones. *Sancta simplicitas* ! On the other hand, the Stûpa at Bhattiprôlu, which has a dome 132 feet, and a base 148 feet, in diameter, is solid brick throughout. But then its bricks are of very superior manufacture. Indian bricks usually were so, it may be parenthetically remarked, before

the Public Works Department and Contractors were created for their manufacture. Exceptions will occur though—even in the most orthodox groups of antique stûpas. The one at Ghantasâlâ (122 feet 2 inches in diameter at the base, and 111 feet at the wall above it) has walls constructed of bricks 'of very inferior make.' It is peculiar in another respect, for its plan differs from that of any others exploited in the Madras Presidency. It has an outer ring of brickwork 18 feet 3 inches thick, exclusive of the basement, which is 5 feet 7 inches broad. Inside is a concentric circle 55 feet 10 inches in exterior diameter, and with a wall 3 feet 6 inches thick, which is supposed to have been the dome wall. In the centre is a square cube of solid brickwork, surrounded by a hollow brick square. Cross and radiating walls connect these other walls, and the cells thus formed are firmly packed with black mud. These interior walls are considered suggestive of upper storeys :—

The largest of the three stûpas at Pedda Ganjâm has been a hollow brick dome, packed with earth. A floor of packed stones runs across the interior near the foundations and may have been repeated at intervals in the height. In the centre of the foundations are a number of bricks in the form of a svastika. The diameter of the building at the base is 74 feet, with a wall thickness there of 10 feet. The dome wall has been 3 feet thick.*

In the remains of the second stûpa at Pedda Ganjâm, the plan is two concentric brick circles separated from each other by a breadth of 4 feet 10 inches, and the two connected by twelve cross walls radiating from the centre ; four of these walls project inside the inner circle. The exterior diameter of the outer circle is 38 feet 10 inches, with a wall thickness of 3 feet 10 inches ; the outer diameter of the inner circle is 21 feet 6 inches, with a wall of 2 feet. As only one course of the bricks remains, it is impossible to say what the packing has been, but it was probably earth.† The foundations of a third stûpa were found here, having a diameter of 32 feet. It is a brick ring packed with earth, having a square pit in the centre packed with stones. Whether these latter extended up to the crown is uncertain.

Every one of these buildings has or had a square projection on the basement at each of the cardinal points opposite the four entrance gateways in the rail. From sculptured representations, these seem to have been intended as an architectural feature to give prominence to, or support, the five stelae, which stood opposite these points near the dome. In the earliest stûpas, such as Bhattiprôlu, Jaggayyapêta and Garikapâd, of the marble slabs which encased the basement, only those at the projections were sculptured.

It has been thought that the curious small circular shaft in the centre of the Bhattiprôlu stûpa might have been the receptacle for the strong wooden post that supported the covering umbrellas. A similar but square shaft was found in the centre of the Ghantasâlâ stûpa.

Curious treasure trove has been unearthed at Bhattiprôlu in ransackings entered upon a quarter of a century ago—not in the interests of archæology. The Public Works Department Engineer who broke down the marble railing at the base of the dome—and utilised it in the construction of the Vellatur Sluice—told Mr. Sewell in 1871, that, before he commenced his

* Madras G.O., No. 703 P., of 14th July 1888.

† *Ibid.*

work of destruction, he found inside the dome a casket made of six small slabs of stone, dovetailed into one another, measuring about $2\frac{1}{2}' \times 1\frac{1}{2}' \times 1'$. Inside this was a common clay chatty, inside the chatty another casket made of soap-stone, inside this a crystal phial containing a pearl, a few bits of gold-leaf, and some ashes. The outer casket was soon broken and its fragments added to the adjacent debris. Like fate befel the chatty. Mr. Boswell, reporting soon afterwards to the Madras Government, mentioned that, in course of the demolition, a stone casket was found, containing a crystal mal, seeds, and pearls. He went on to say:—"The Natives say that another bottle was broken in digging which contained the secret of alchemy, the substance capable of turning all other metals to gold. They also firmly believe these structures cover some hidden treasure, and from the fact of a five-headed Naga being discovered this has been taken to fix the actual amount at five crores." Mr. Rea made further exploration of the stûpa and its neighbourhood in 1892, and secured many interesting relics, which he describes. Of the bijouterie drawings are given. Among his more notable finds were two pieces of a marble umbrella, having a curve with a radius of 1 foot 6 inches, a pilaster capital with horses and riders and half of what had been a large slab, on which were carved the lower members of a draped figure archaically limned.

Of the detached enclosing rail, a marked feature in Northern Indian stûpas, only two examples have been discovered in the South. Others, it is surmised, must have succumbed under destruction and decay. Mr. Rea remarks in this connection :—

Although every stûpa may not have had a detached rail, all would seem—to judge from examples—which remain complete enough to show the feature—to have had an inner rail or parapet on the edge of the basement or raised procession path, formed by the casing slabs over-topping it, and a coping panel on the top of them. From sculptural representations Mr. Fergusson had inferred that this feature existed in the large tope at Sânci.* It is clearly shown on all the Chaitya slabs found at Amarâvati, and subsequently at Pedda Ganjâm and Ghantasâlâ. Undoubted traces of this feature have been found at one of these stûpas. At Pedda Ganjâm a number of slabs, similar to plate XXVII. of the present work, were found standing in position against the basement wall, with their tops above the floor line of the upper procession path. Traces of the brick support for the raised inner rail or balustrade over them also remained there. This must have consisted of a marble coping laid along the top of the casing slabs similar to some at Jaggayyapêta.†

Public Works Department Goths carried their gospel of utilisation to Gudivâda as well as to Bhattiprôlu. At Gudivâda, all traces of marble sculptures or rail had disappeared before Mr. Rea's visit. Mr. Sewell had, twenty years previously, obtained from a subordinate of the great spending and non-conserving Department, the following description of discoveries made

* *Ind. and East. Arch.* p. 64.

† *Amar. and Jagg. Stûpas*, pls. LI, figs. 1 and 3, and LIV, fig. 2.

in the mound, when it was in process of demolition—"Four stone receptacles were found at the four corners, each measuring about 2 feet by one foot 6 inches, formed by the erection, on one stone as a base, of four stones placed on their edge with a covering slab. Inside each was a casket, but I could not ascertain what material they consisted of, nor what they contained, nor can I ascertain what has become of them." Most likely the caskets were used for road metalling. Beyond doubt some of the bricks were, and Public Works Department lack of the bump of reverence is specially deplorable in this instance, for the mound covers the ruins of a Buddhist pagoda of ancient days. Tradition has it that, once upon a time, there were in the immediate neighbourhood 99 Buddhist or Jain temples and 99 tanks. The stûpa is locally known as *lanja dibba*, the harlot's mound, and it is said to have been raised by a dancing-girl who lived on the top, and restricted herself to one meal a day, of which she would never partake till able in the evening to see the lights of the Akarepally pagoda. In the courtyard the neighbouring temple of Bhîmêsvara is a fine Jaina image now claimed by the Brahmans, and worshipped as Munesvarasvami. The figure is a seated one, carved on a black stone slab. The ear lobes are pierced and distended; the hair is curled. Over the head is a seven-headed Nâga, and a triple umbrella. Andhra coins, all of them lead, are found on the site of the ancient village of Gudivâda. The device most common to them is the elephant. In connection with the Ghantasâlâ stûpa, plates are given showing marble slabs that have been defaced, and resculptured with the images of Hindu deities. To the genuine Hindu nature æsthetic sense has ever been lacking.

The penultimate chapter in *South East Buddhist Antiquities* treats of ancient sites in the Rêpaller Taluq. Here is part of Mr. Rea's commentary on his researches there:—

The popular idea among the people of these districts, that mounds covering the remains of Buddhist buildings are store-houses of treasure, is a myth. These buildings, it is almost needless to say, were temples built to enshrine a relic, which also may have had placed along with it some articles of no great intrinsic value. Treasure would not, and never has been, found in such places; yet it is widely believed in. This idea is one of the causes which have led to the complete demolition of so many of these stûpas. It must have arisen through exaggerated account of golden or other relics which have been found inside them. The mound at Bhattiprôlu was believed to contain five crores, the amount being estimated from the fact of a five-headed Nâga having once been discovered. The search for, and finding of the recently discovered relics, caused great interest among the people, even in distant villages; crowds came and visited the place, while the work was proceeding, and discussed the inscribed caskets after they were brought out. Most of those who were not present when the articles were brought to the surface went away convinced that a great treasure had just been dug out. There seems reason to believe that

there is much treasure buried in the Krishna district, but it is in secret places, or in places which were once secret, but are now exposed. Such are the sites or foundations of houses which have become ruined or completely razed. These may be found by chance ploughing or digging as at Chandavôlu, or, as with a find of Roman coins lately made. Numbers of small antique articles of interest must often be found by those digging into these village sites for earth, for brick-making or other purposes; but their finds are almost invariably kept secret. An instance is the small brass articles from Bauddhavanam at Ghantasâlâ, which would never have been heard of, but for the coincident presence of the Survey. The chances are, however, against anything that might be found in such sites repaying the outlay of a systematic search for it by digging. It is not under every house that treasure is buried; or, if so placed, that it is left there when the house is deserted or destroyed. In places where coins are found scattered about after rain, good results may be obtained by examining the earth with sieves.

At Chandavôlu, 15 miles west of Rêpaller, an immense treasure in gold was found at a considerable depth underground when the canal was being cut. It was discovered by chance, and had probably been buried under the ruins of a house. It consisted of bricks of pure gold, and the finders sold them in the bazar as old brass. In Chapter XXI, entitled *Buddhist Marble Carving from Amrâvati*, Mr. Rea concludes his very interesting contribution to the archæological lore of India, and *à propos* of South Indian monuments and carvings in stone, delivers himself thus:—

With the expulsion of the Buddhists, there passed away a mastery of the sculptural arts, which, in India, has never since been equalled. Sculptured groups represented the human figure true to nature, with none of the grotesque, distorted forms so freely adopted in the later works of the Hindus. The more antique ornament never asserts itself, but is always in subordination, and acts as an accessory to the feature to which it is applied. Some of the florid ornaments of the later styles, is often applied contrary to its constructive use. On the other hand, though the later carved ornament of the Dravidians does not lack in beauty, it differs as much from the Buddhist as does the Roman from the Greek.

Early South Indian Buddhist sculpture is of a severely quaint character, and is generally in basso, while the later works, with their spirited life-like scenes, are in mezzo-relievo; the carved ornament of both periods is invariably in the former. The raised surface of the objects carved, is as flat as possible, with the edges only rounded off. This style of ornament, with its soft light and shade, does not detract from the solidity of any constructive object to which it is applied. The favourite floral representations are taken from the leaves, flowers, and buds of the sacred lotus. The flower readily lends itself to an infinity of varied grouping in the hands of a skilful carver. This, and the delicacy of treatment possible with the fine-grained material used, have been fully taken advantage of. The design is occasionally strictly conventional; though in some examples a free natural treatment, or a combination of the two is adopted. Other flowers than the lotus are often employed; and the incorporation of floral designs with different animals, grotesque and otherwise, always exhibits a strikingly artistic design with faultless execution.

The Complete Poetical Works of Constance Naden. With an Explanatory Fore-word by ROBERT LEWINS, M.D., Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel (Retired). London : Bickers & Son, 1, Leicester Square, W. C. 1894.

WHEN Tennyson wrote *The Princess*, he and other Englishmen of the period little thought how near the time was for his dream to come true—and to increase and magnify considerably beyond the radius of his pretty conceit. For, over and above the secure establishment of Girton, Newnham, Somerville Hall, he lived long enough to see not a few social, political, and literary revolts against the subjection of women that have, during the latter half of the century, dumb-founded the stolidities of British “common-sense.” They have won victories all along the line and in directions the least expected by John Bull, and altogether foreign to his conceptions of the nature of feminine mental equipments, and the possibilities latent in that unknown quantity. Five-and-twenty years ago he snorted and pawed the ground disgustedly over adumbrations of philosophers and scientists in petticoats. He finds himself now in the position of the “man convinced against his will, and of the same opinion still,” albeit constrained to bow and scrape with outward seeming of respect before un-Philistian altars. A collection of the complete poetical works of Miss Constance Naden, now lying before us, has suggested the above retrespect. True it is that Macmillan & Co. found Miss Naden’s book too pronounced for publication by them. That, of course, proves only that Messrs. Macmillan & Co’s. ideas on the subject of propriety are old fashioned. It would be disloyal for John Bull to heed their opinion after Her Majesty the Queen’s Private Secretary has acknowledged receipt of a copy of selections from Miss Naden’s Works. And are not all the Liberals and Radicals in Great Britain in duty bound to shout—Hear ! Hear !!—when Mr. Gladstone pronounces those works evidence of a highly scientific mind, and the *Manchester Examiner* endorses that authoritative verdict ? Like many another convert to a new cult, Miss Naden is more throughgoing, more iconoclastic than her teachers, and is by way of improving agnosticism by superstructure of immaterialism, which she has been pleased to designate hylo-idealism. She makes a pilgrim in quest of this transparent nebulosity query and reply to himself on the subject thus :—

But is there respite here for soul and flesh ?

Are yonder glades but homes of idle calm ?

This is no dreamland—here the wind blows fresh,
 Lulling the sense with no voluptuous balm ;
 Full life inspires the pilgrim's heart and eyes
 From yon bright waves, yon high unclouded skies.

Shall he not twine fresh garlands for his head,
 And seek new singing-robes of quaint device ?
 Here roses blush, more delicately red
 Than e'er he dreamed the flowers of Paradise,
 And in this lovely land is plenteous store
 Of gems and gold, more rich than once he wore.

Ah no ! Exulting 'neath yon radiant sky
 For youth's forgotten songs he oft may yearn ;
 But the unflinching hand, the wakeful eye,
 Still tireless to their lonely task shall turn :
 Ere his limbs fail, ere his strong heart be dumb,
 Let him make plain the path, that all may come.

Constance Naden died five years ago, in London, of an illness the seeds of which were sown while she was travelling in India. She was only 31 when she died. Of another dead woman she wrote in one of her poems,—

Look in her face, and lose thy dread of dying ;
 Weep not that rest will come, that toil will cease ;
 Is it not well to lie as she is lying
 In utter silence, and in perfect peace ?

These lines give expression to her own attitude towards the burden of living, the peace of the grave. Not that her pessimism was of a morbid sort, always groaning and grieving and arraigning the injustice of Fate, after the fashion of some of the followers of that dreary school. Indeed, she could be quite gay, and sing as merrily as a thrush whenever she allowed herself to forget that she was a self-appointed priestess of hylo-idealism. From plenary absorption into which Sahara her faculty for loving, her intrinsic womanliness, ransomed her, no less than grace of poetic insight and sympathy with all things beautiful in Nature and Human Nature. In her verse, although she is constantly glorying in her emancipation from creeds and cant, and her enjoyment of the clearer ether she is pleased to regard as her home, yet often one surprises an undertone of regret at her abandonment of the joys and homely cares of a less well-instructed lower-planed humanity, to whose contentment with crude simplicities she has risen superior. And then she tries to cheat herself into the belief that she has not forfeited her birthright ; forces herself to extravagances of gaiety ; writes nonsense verses even—pretty, piquant *vers de société*. But the prevailing note is a tender melancholy. As sample of her manner of working, we select

two stanzas from her most ambitious poem, the trend of which is socialistic. It is styled—

A MODERN APOSTLE.

Summer passed by, and Autumn ; Winter came
 With grey cold days and black unpitying nights,
 And many children gathered round the flame
 Of Yule-tide logs, and dreamed of new delights
 With the New Year : many, with shivering frame,
 Half-naked, famished, crept to see the sights
 In gay shop-windows—a celestial treat !
 On earth there might be bread, and sometimes meat.

But this was Heaven. They had their make-believe,
 For every child can find an open door
 Even from Hell, and thoughtlessly achieve
 Proserpine's miracle ; while she who bore
 The starvelings crouches too benumbed to grieve
 In her cold room, and sees but the bare floor
 And fireless hearth, and hungers through the day,
 Idle, or toiling hard for paltry pay.

Constance Naden attained to mastery over the technique of verse making, as her sonnets show. Here is one, Hellenic in conception, as well as free and unlaboured in rhythm and word structure :—

HERCULES.

This fruitage from the far Hesperides
 I bring to great Eurystheus, feared and hated,
 Whom I, his slave, nor hate nor fear ; my fated,
 My full reward, he has no power to seize,
 Nor is it bought with golden gauds like these ;
 I seek supreme delights, untold, undated ;
 Of joys wherewith these kings of men are sated
 Right little reck the Jove-born Hercules.

I live content to bear my destined burden,
 To toil unthanked, unhonoured, void of guerdon,
 To work a tyrant's will through lonely years ;
 That, neither shunning pain nor scorning pleasure,
 My strenuous soul may win Olympian leisure,
 And dwell in peace among the Gods, my peers.

"Recompense" another sonnet, is not noteworthy for its graces of form : it is quoted rather for the light it throws on the mental pictures Constance Naden most delighted in :—

RECOMPENSE

The wine-flushed monarch slept—but in his ear
 An angel breathed—"Repent ; or choose the flame
 Quenchless." In dread he woke, but not in shame,
 Deep musing—"Sin I love, yet Hell I fear."
 Wherefore he left his feasts, and minions dear,
 And justly ruled, and died a saint in name.
 But when his hasting spirit heavenward came
 A stern Voice cried—"Oh Soul ! what dost thou here ?"

" Love I forswore, and wine, and kept my vow
 To live a just and joyless life, and now
 I crave reward." The Voice came like a knell—
 " Fool ! dost thou hope to find again thy mirth,
 And those foul joys thou didst renounce on earth ?
 Yea, enter in ! My Heaven shall be thy Hell ! "

A widely different key is touched, surely a more Christian-minded keynote than Christian creeds give out, in—

CHRIST, THE NAZARENE.

The copyist group was gathered round
 A time-worn fresco, world-renowned,
 Whose central glory once had been
 The face of Christ, the Nazarene.

And every copyist of the crowd
 With his own soul that face endowed,
 Gentle, severe, majestic, mean ;
 But which was Christ, the Nazarene ?

Then one who watched them made complaint,
 And marvelled, saying, " Wherefore paint
 Till ye be sure your eyes have seen
 The face of Christ, the Nazarene ? "

Coins. Catalogue No. 2. Roman, Indo-Portuguese, and Ceylon.
 2nd Edition By EDGAR THURSTON, Superintendent, Madras
 Government Museum. Madras: The Superintendent,
 Government Press. 1894.

THERE are known to have been in modern times several finds of gold coins and denarii of the Roman Imperial era on the Malabar coast. In 1888, Mr. Thurston, Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum, prepared a catalogue of such of these, and of Indo-Portuguese and Ceylon mintings, as have found their way to the collection under his charge. He included some copper issues that had not been discovered in India. In a second edition, now published, these are discarded, and in it only coins of the more precious metals, and only such of these as have been unearthed in the Madras Presidency, are included. We may confess that with many years' experience of popular avidity of belief in the universality of buried treasures, and easily awakened inclination to search for them confronting our memory, we doubt the likelihood of there having been no discoveries of Roman coins in Southern India previously to A.D. 1797. The 12th July, 1797, affords however the earliest known modern mention of any thing of the sort. It occurs in a letter from Mr. Alexander Davidson, a whilom Governor of Madras, who depones:—

" A peasant near Nelór, about 100 miles north-west of Madras, was ploughing on the side of a stony craggy hill ; his plough was obstructed by some brickwork ; he dug and discovered the remains of a small Hindu temple,

under which a little pot was found with Roman coins and medals of the second century. He sold them as old gold, and many no doubt were melted, but the Nawab Amír-ul-Umará recovered upwards of thirty of them. This happened while I was Governor, and I had the choice of two out of the whole. I chose an Adrian and a Faustina. Some of the Trajans were in good preservation. Many of the coins could not have been in circulation; they were all of the purest gold, and many of them as fresh and beautiful as if they had come from the mint but yesterday; some were much defaced and perforated, and had probably been worn as ornaments on the arm, and others pending from the neck."

This appearance of freshness, as if newly struck from the mint, appears to be common to most Indian finds; it is here and again referred to throughout the catalogue we have in hand. *Apropos* of a find lighted on in the Coimbatore District in 1844, Mr. R. Sewell wrote in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* :—

"It is evident that there was at one time a very considerable commerce between the inhabitants of this district and the Romans, for there have been numerous finds of Roman coins made here. Mr. Walhouse (*Ind. Ant.* v, 237) thinks that this was in great measure due to the beryl mine at Padiyúr in the Dhárápúram taluk, for the Romans set great store by the beryl, and Pliny declares that the best beryls come from India." On this subject the Rev. Henry Little writes : * "He (Mr. Walhouse) says that in the Kángyam taluk (near Dhárápúram) of the Coimbatore district, at a village called Padiyúr, there is an extensive dyke of crystalline porphyritic granite in the gneiss rock; the dyke abounds with masses of quartz with large crystals of the same, as well as felspar, cleavelandite, and garnets; the crystals of cleavelandite are remarkably fine, and it often occurs in large masses, in the cavities of which the aqua marina is found in six-sided prisms. Mr. Walhouse gives an account of the enlargement of a well in 1798 and the discovery of these gems; also of a systematic search made by a Mr. Heath in 1819-20, resulting in the securing of 2,196 stones, which weighed 120 pounds and were worth £1,200." He then adds "it is highly probable that most of the best aqua marines of the true sea-green color used in modern times in Europe come from this well."

In June 1840 a hoard of Roman aurei was discovered about fifteen miles from Sholapur. Only eighteen of them arrived at publicity and specification. Some of these were rare types, such as :—

ADVENTVI. AVG. FELICISSIMO.
FELICITAS. SÆCVLI.
FORTVNAE. REDVCI.
PROVIDENTIA. Medusa's head.

Five hundred twenty-two silver denarii, mostly of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, were, in 1842, after a very heavy shower of rain, found in a piece of waste land, belonging to the village of Vellalur—an insignificant place now, and not known to have ever been otherwise, even traditionally. *Re* these denarii, Mr. M. J. Walhouse wrote in *Indian Antiquities* :—

"I took casts of some of the coins which by order of Government were sent to Madras—whether there melted in the mint, or reserved in the museum, I know not."

* *Madras Christian College Magazine*, December 1883, pp. 341-6.

There was an extensive find of gold coins at Cannanore in 1851. Among them, one thus catalogued :—

Obverse.—TI. CLAVD. CAESUR. AVG. P.M. TR. P. VI IMP. XI. Head of emperor. †

Reverse.—DE. BRITANN. Triumphal arch. Emperor mounted, with trophies †

“ A most interesting coin representing the arch erected by a decree of the Senate to the Emperor Claudius on the final subjugation of Britain. It was in the year 43 A.D. that the Emperor Claudius sent over a large force to conquer the island, which he subsequently joined himself; Vespasian, afterwards emperor, being his second in command. This triumphal arch no longer exists, and, were it not for the representation of it on coins, we should have remained in ignorance of its ever having been erected.

In accounting for the discovery of Roman coins in Southern India, Mr. Thurston gives a succinct elucidatory sketch of the lines on which, for commercial purposes, communication with this country was maintained by the Romans, Captain Drury ‡ being freely quoted. We reprint his concluding para. :—

“ In the absence of all direct testimony as to the probable fact of these coins having been conveyed here by the Romo Egyptian traders, there is another supposition, worthy of taking into consideration, whether they may not have been brought here by those Jewish refugees who, emigrating from Palestine about the year 68 A.D., spread themselves over this part of the continent at that early period. That country was then a Roman province, and, consequently, Roman money was there in circulation. At that time ten thousand Jews with their families came and settled on the coast of Malabar, and dispersed themselves in various places, chiefly on the sea coast. Now, supposing several emigrations of the kind to have succeeded each other and taken place during the third and fourth centuries (Palestine did not cease to be a Roman province until the beginning of the seventh century), it is not unlikely that these coins may have been brought by them, and either from suffering persecution or oppression at the hands of the natives, they may have buried these treasures for greater security or concealment; but besides the Jews, the Nestorian Christians may have been instrumental in conveying foreign coins to these countries. In 485 A.D., they obtained a footing in Persia, whence they spread into almost every country of the East; but I do not consider this theory entitled to so much consideration, from the fact of the coins being found in greater numbers on or near to the sea coast, on which account it would assuredly be more plausible to support the idea of their having been brought by the Romans from Egypt, or the Jews from Palestine, presuming the latter people in their emigration came either by way of the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf”

The National Review. August 1894. London: Edward Arnold, Publisher to the India Office, 37, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.

IN the August number of the *National Review*, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., has sketched a tour he took last year “ along the outskirts of Europe,” starting from the seldom visited town of Taganrog on the Sea of Azof, and thence journeying across the Aral mountains into Siberia. No need to tell an

† Concerning this coin Sir Edwin Arnold says (*India Revisited*, 1886, p. 260): “ Among the curious treasures of the Madras Museum, which the Governor (Sir M. E. Grant Duff) has greatly developed, is a golden coin of Claudius, the emperor, struck to commemorate the conquest of Britain, and discovered in excavating a foundation near Madras. What chapters of fancy might be written about this *aureus*, which thus strangely links the past and present of England's history and came, perhaps, to India in the scrip of St. Thomas !”

‡ *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol. XX, pp. 376–380.

Anglo-Indian public what pleasant reading tales of travel that come from his pen make. We note his paper in the *National Review* principally on account of the testimony he offers *re* the vexed question of the working of the Russian convict system. Concerning which we quote at some length :—

Siberia is a dreary country, but the fate of the exile is infinitely preferable to that of close prisoners in the most admirable of European jails. The Russians are naturally a kind-hearted and easy going people : even their enemies allow this. Why, then, in the name of wonder, should it be believed that they habitually ill-treat their prisoners ? For my part, I do not believe they do. I have only enquired from convicts, ex-convicts, and free inhabitants of Siberia, but surely theirs is excellent evidence, and those who either do not or cannot examine such witnesses, can hardly pretend to be in a position to pronounce a judgment. Not that I pretend to be in any such position. I only record my impressions, and repeat what I heard at first hand. A man who cannot speak Russian at all can really do little more than receive what the local officers give him for publication. The hard-labour jails are large four-square enclosures, with tall wooden walls. Within are wooden houses, open spaces, and a conning tower. All was silence when I walked round them at different hours of the day. Through the interstices of the wooden uprights a view of the interior may be had by the passer-by. I could see that green grass grew in the yards, and so little life or movement was apparent within that I can readily believe that the prisoners are not overworked, and this is what they tell you in the town. That the jails are at times greatly over-crowded is only too true. However, Mr. Kennan's denunciation on this score also must be largely discounted, for the prisoners, as well as the authorities, are Russians who are no believers in the sacred principles of so many cubic feet of fresh air per head. On the contrary, they habitually live indoors, in an atmosphere which is death to an Englishman. In the deck-saloon of a Russian steamer, in the height of summer, you will find the windows carefully closed, and all the passengers voluntarily inhaling inexpressibly foul air, stale tobacco-smoke, and the odour of various viands. Without Mr. Kennan's powers of description, I may claim to have as good a nose, and I unhesitatingly affirm that Russians would not notice anything wrong with the sickening atmosphere which he describes in such a manner as to excite the strongest feelings of compassion and indignation in the hearts of his readers. In the very drawing-rooms of Petersburg, the atmosphere is intolerable, and produces a feeling of sickness in one accustomed to fresh air. In the railway-carriages the windows can only be opened with turn-screws, and printed regulations provide that they shall not be opened to the annoyance of the orthodox passenger, except in certain hot months of the year, and then only by common consent, and only on one side of the carriage. Russians are accustomed to fetidness from their earliest youth. I shall never forget the look a mother gave me when I opened one window in a deck-saloon on a stifling day in June, while a thunderstorm lowered over the ship, and the thermometer in my deck-cabin stood at 90°. She shrieked, "My child ! my child !" and called loudly to the steward to shut out the murderous current of fresh air.

More ambitious and fateful contribution to the August number is Mr. Galton's *Religion and Human Evolution*. It deserves the attention of all thinking men and women. A few extracts

indicative of its purpose are possible in this place, but even while we afford them we are sensible that such detachments from the staple volume of the argument are not quite fair to it:—

All earnest inquirers recognize the awful mysteries that surround human life, but they are angered by theosophies that attempt to solve part of its problems by means of hypotheses that are improbable in themselves, while they introduce gratuitous complications. For instance, if we strip from Milton's fable and from the *dramatis personæ* of *Paradise Lost* all the glamour thrown over them by his superb diction, a grotesquely absurd framework remains behind. His high undertaking to justify the ways of God to man becomes ludicrously inadequate. The same spirit under another guise that moved our ancestors in the days of the Reformation to shatter the authority of Rome, is abroad again, but is now directed against the dogmas of the time. The spirit is that of a determination to face and view the grand and terrible problem of life in the clear light of day, and not through artificial mediums that partly hide, partly colour, and partly refract it. It is not an easy matter to pass from theory to practice, the difficulty being great in taking wisely the earlier steps. It is comparatively simple to dig out tares, but very difficult not to destroy the wheat among which they grow. The social system of every nation, including its religion, whatever that may be, has adjusted itself into a position of stability which is dangerous to disturb. Deep sentiments and prejudices, habits and customs, all more or less entwined with the established religion of each nation, are elements of primary importance to its social fabric.

Supposing—a by no means unreasonable supposition—that, in the near future, stress of poverty, unremunerative toil, hunger-begotten envies and hatreds redound to the discrediting of religious belief (as they did a hundred years ago in France); and supposing that socialistic experiments, on various scales and in various ways, had been largely tried and confessedly found ineffective, “owing to the moral and intellectual incompetence of the average citizen:” then anarchy and ruin would impend over the nation, while a bitter cry would arise for light and leading. Preachers of all sorts of nostrums would supply that demand; “mostly fanatics who could see only one side of a question, and on that account would be all the more earnest in their opinions and persuasive to the multitude,” their preachments making for Egoism; making, nevertheless, in the aggregate, for a prudential altruism:—

It is quite credible that a nation whose old religious notions and social practices, whatever they were, have avowedly failed; who have been aroused to the knowledge that man possesses vast and hitherto unused powers over the very nature of unborn generations, who have learnt to realize the dilatoriness, ruthlessness, and pain that accompany the evolution of man, when it is left as now to cosmic influences, and who have satisfied themselves that the present low state of their race might be materially improved by concerted national action, should seize with irresistible ardour upon the idea of utilizing their power.

That is to say, the nation might devote its best energies to the self-imposed duty of carrying out, in its manifold details, the following

general programme :—(1) Of steadily raising the natural level of successive generations, morally, physically, and intellectually, by even reasonable means that could be suggested ; (2) of keeping its numbers within appropriate limits ; (3) of developing the health and vigour of the people. In short, to make every individual efficient, both through nature and by nurture.

A passionate aspiration to improve the heritable powers of man to their utmost, seems to have all the requirements needed for the furtherance of human evolution, and to suffice as the basis of a national religion, in the sense of that word as defined by J. S. Mill, for, though it be without any ultra-rational sanction, it would serve to direct the emotions and desires of a nation towards an ideal object, recognized as rightly paramount over all selfish objects of desire."

The Portuguese in India : Being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire. Two vols. By FREDERICK CHARLES DANVERS, of Her Majesty's Indian (Home Civil Service. London : W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1894.

PERSONA GRATA at the India Office, with a free hand to ransack its old records, Mr. Danvers has enjoyed every advantage a conscientious student could wish for in the preparation of his History of the Rise and Decline of Portuguese Settlements in the Eastern Hemisphere. Confronting his task with commendable zeal, he takes his history very seriously, and with indefatigable patience particularises its incidents, omitting nothing that may serve towards rendering his treatment of his subject exhaustive. It is true that, in an Introduction to his work, he explicitly disclaims any title to exhaustiveness for it, but overplus of modesty must be held answerable for that fallacy. In the Introduction aforesaid he commences his thesis by harking back to the 24th century B.C., and the wealth and influence that Chaldæa possessed at that remote period, by virtue of its trade with China. The course of Indo-European trade with the East at large is then traced from the dawn of history onwards : Through Assyrians, Phœnicians, King David, King Solomon, Carthage, Byzantium, Ptolemy Philadelphus, &c. The effects of the use of the Red Sea route are noted. In due time, we arrive at the discovery by the Portuguese navigators of the less jealously supervised, albeit longer and more tempestuous, open way *viâ* the Cape of Storms. Transition from this notable event to the plantation of factories and commencements of trade and barter at Calicut, Cannanore, Malacca, Goa, &c., is easy. Account is also rendered of an unsuccessful attempt to establish, a sphere of influence at Gour. In brief, the reader is made acquainted, *seriatim*, with all salient facts having any sort of bearing on

the beginnings and course of trade between the East and the West, from times primeval to times impressed with the enterprise and maritime light and leading of Portugal.

With this record is associated the story of the decline and fall of Portuguese sovereignty in the East; a story extending over four hundred years of more or less of empire, crowded with stirring events and heterogeneous vicissitudes of fortune. Until the Inquisition, and too promiscuous miscegenation, and ensuent sloth and corruption, and exorbitant taxation proved stronger forces than the statesmanship that had called them into being, and combined to undermine the work of Albuquerque, the two da Gamas, Nuno da Cunha and other protagonists, and relegated once more to dreamland the fructified dreams of Prince Henry the Navigator. At Mr. Danvers' hands fullest justice is given to the genius of historical accuracy. Neither pomp nor circumstance is omitted; no event, no negotiation for one, is slurred over; no statement is made for which chapter and verse cannot be given.

Exclusive of Introduction, the first volume of the work is mainly concerned with extensions and consolidations of empire. The second volume opens on an era of discomfitures, surrenders, disruptions, unprofitable warrings with 'Caffrés,' and with the Mogul Emperor and his feudatories, not for the winning of new territory, but to preserve that which was already in possession. Token of incipient decay is the fact that in the middle of the 17th century the King of Golconda and the Nawab Mirza Mula had ceased to think it worth while to ask the Portuguese for passports for their vessels. Soon, the fighting power of the Dutch had to be reckoned with, over and above that of Indian princes—and differently, both as to procedure and result. Soon, too, robustious English adventurers insisted on having their fingers in the navigation-and-trade pie. In 1750, the Marquez de Castello Novo Alorna made over to his successor in the Viceroyalty 'a lucid and valuable account' of the state of India, during and at the end of his administrations, from which we take the following extract:—

The Dutch are our most implacable enemies. They have taken away our best trade and have their eyes on Damão, and twice during my governorship have attempted to take the place by surprise.

From the English we have received no better treatment. Ever since they declared war against France, and have sent powerful fleets to blockade the coast of Coromandel, they have almost paralysed our commerce in those parts, as well as with Bengal. Commander Thomas Griffin has behaved more like a cruel pirate than a general of an ally; he has ruined us by means of extortion; interfered with our trade, and prevented our Maçao ships from calling at St. Thomé. After this, Admiral Boscawen insulted our nation in the most barefaced manner, by seizing (through a breach of faith) St. Thomé, hauling

down the flag of His Most Faithful Majesty, and hoisting in its place that of the British Nation. Besides this he expelled all the Portuguese from the place.

In 1750, Muscat was lost to the Portuguese, and therewithal they were deprived of their last stronghold in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf. The loss meant imposition of no light straw on an already overladen camel's back :—

During the preceding half century Portugal had not only been engaged in incessant wars with the Dutch in India, but she had at the same time to protect her interests in the Brazils against these and other rivals. Almost immediately after Portugal had passed under the Crown of Spain, English adventurers organised expeditions against the Brazils, and these were followed in 1612 by the French. In 1624 the Dutch East India Company dispatched a fleet against Bahia, and from that date they waged continual war against the Portuguese in the Brazils up to 1654, when, after a series of sanguinary encounters, the latter succeeded in re-establishing their supremacy in those parts. In these struggles in South America and in the East, Portugal had been drained of both men and money. Trade had necessarily languished considerably and become almost extinguished. Not being possessed of territories in the neighbourhood of their forts and factories to yield revenues sufficient for their necessities, other and special means had to be adopted in order to raise funds to meet the expenses of the administration and for carrying on their numerous wars.

In 1621 the one per cent. tax, which had been originally levied for ecclesiastical purposes, was appropriated for the service of the State; and shortly afterwards, during the Viceroyalty of Dom Francisco da Gama (1622 to 1627), a two per cent. consular duty was levied at certain ports, with the view of raising a fund for the equipment of a fleet to turn the Dutch out of India. Letters of marque were also issued to private persons, authorising them to equip vessels to prey upon the Dutch ships, as the Government had not the means to provide them in sufficient quantities. As an additional means of raising funds for carrying on the administration of the State in India, the most important appointments were put up to auction and sold to the highest bidders; an additional one per cent. consulate was levied at various ports in order to provide artillery for the forts; and the profits of special voyages were also appropriated to the repair of the fortresses. The wealth of the convents of India had already been appropriated by the Government and absorbed in the general expenses of the State, and thus at the termination of the Viceroyalty of Dom Filipe Mascarenhas the administration of the Portuguese Eastern possessions was involved in very considerable difficulties.

From bad to worse is a succinct and sufficient summing up in this place of the history of the closing years of Portuguese dominion in India and the far East. The evil done in them endures still in our midst, and still makes for mischief in the body politic.

Madras Government Museum. Bulletin No. 1. Pearl and Chank Fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar. By EDGAR THURSTON, C.M.Z.S., &c., Superintendent, Madras Government Museum. Madras : The Superintendent, Government Press. 1894.

WONDERFUL is the quantity of information Mr. Thurston has deftly compressed within the 58 pages of what he modestly calls a Bulletin. Science, archæology, political

economy, folklore, Sir Edwin Arnold's poetry, are all laid under contribution, and yet in every page the author's shrewd personality asserts itself. He makes a dull topic bright, contrives to enliven the driest of details. He starts his *excursus* at Tuticorin—not the sandy little maritime torpidity, surrounded on the land side by a wilderness of cocoa and palmyra trees, which is all that the casual and unobservant eye sees, but Tuticorin as an important trade centre, prime medium of communication between Tinnevely and Ceylon, albeit “an abominable place to land at.” A theatrical sort of place, where coral reefs are used for the foundations of cotton mills; where fortunes are won and lost on the set of a sea current; where cholera may at any time put in an appearance and ruin the prospects of the most promising fishery; where a witch is salaried, as long as diving for pearls is carried on, to ward off sharks by her incantations; whence pearls are exported to Northern India to be used by wealthy natives, instead of chunam, with their betel. We are reminded that Tuticorin has been celebrated for its pearl fishery from a remote date; that, with reference to comparatively modern times, Jordanus, a Missionary Bishop, who visited India about the year 1330, has left on record that as many as 8,000 boats were then engaged in the Pearl Fisheries of Tinnevely and Ceylon. In this century the seasons 1860-62 have been the most profitable ones: 1890 yielded a profit of but 7,803 rupees. Mr. Thurston acknowledges his inability to determine the cause of the failure in recent years of the pearl oysters to reach maturity, except after long intervals:—

Whether the baneful influence of the mollusca known locally as *súran* (*Modiola*, sp.) and *killikay* (*Avicula*, sp.), the ravages of rays (*Trygon*, &c.) and file-fishes (*Balistes*), poaching, the deepening of the Pámban channel, or currents are responsible for the non-production of an abundant crop of adult pearl-producing oysters during more than a quarter of a century (1862-89) it would be impossible to decide, until our knowledge of the conditions under which the pearl oysters live is much more precise than it is at present.

The argument that the failure of the pearl fishery is due to poaching is, from time to time, brought forward; but, as Mr. H. S. Thomas wisely and characteristically remarks; * “The whole system of the fishery has been carefully arranged, so that every one in any way connected with it has a personal stake in preventing poaching, and oyster poaching is not a thing that can be done in the night; it must be carried out in broad daylight; and, to be worth doing at all, it must be done on a large scale. Ten thousand oysters cannot be put in one's pocket like a rabbit, nor are there express trains and game-shops to take them. Every single oyster has to be manipulated, and it is only the few best that can be felt at once with the finger, and the usual way is to allow the oyster to rot and wash away from the pearl. Oysters

* Vide *Report on Pearl Fisheries and Chank Fisheries*, 1884, by the Hon. Mr. H. S. Thomas.

could not be consigned fresh in boxes or hampers by rail to distant confederates ; they could not even be landed without its becoming known ; and, if known, every one is interested in informing the Government officer and stopping poaching."

Far more prejudicial to the welfare of the oysters than an occasional raid upon them by a stray Mutukurupam or Kallymuttu is, in all probability, the little mollusc, *súran*, which clusters in dense masses over large areas of the sea bottom, spreading over the surface of coral blocks, smothering and crowding out the recently-deposited and delicate young of the oyster. Time after time there is, in the carefully kept records of the superintendent of the pearl banks, in one year a note of the presence of young oysters, either pure or mixed with *súran* and mud or weed, while, at the next time of examination, generally in the following year it is noted that the oysters have disappeared, and the *súran* remained.

The natural history and peculiarities* of the pearl are traced from oysterial genital glands on to their rest in the mouths of corpses in China, the Northern Indian betel-box abovementioned, or a Queen's necklace. Prospective pearls are *irritamenta malorum* before they are found. On page 25 is an account of a fight between rival Tamil and Arab boat crews, in which the former were victorious. Clearly, if pearl divers had light to work by, they could do more, and do it better than they are able to now. During a short visit to Europe in 1888, Mr. Thurston made a series of enquiries as to the possibility of obtaining a suitable illuminator, but though there was abundant evidence as to the usefulness of the electric light for surface purposes, salvage operations, and scientific dredging, the general opinion of those best qualified to judge was that it would, for the proposed purpose, be a failure. Adoption by native divers of the European diving equipment would seem to be the only palliative.

When, in 1889, Mr. Thurston was sent to Ceylon, to report on pearl fishery on the Muttwartu par, he was at once struck with the fact that the shells of the oysters presented an entirely different appearance from those of the Tholayiram par (Tuticorin) ; for, whereas the latter were enveloped in dense masses of algæ (sea weeds) and the surface of the shells was covered by variously-coloured branching and sessile encrusting sponges, the surface of the shells of the former which was uppermost during life was, in very many cases, covered over by young stony corals, which, according to the species, formed either encrusting masses or branching tufts. All attempts at artificial cultivation of oyster beds in Ceylon have failed. Oyster beds have manifold dangers to contend against:—

It was from the Chéval par that, in 1888, about 150 millions of oysters, ripe for fishing, disappeared in the space of two months.

* In the shell and starfish galleries of the British Museum. "the effort of the animal to get rid of the irritation caused by a foreign substance between its valves by covering it over with nacre, and thus converting it into a pearl, is strikingly illustrated by two specimens in which, in the one case, an entire fish, and, in the other, a small crab has been so enclosed."

between November and February. This disappearance *en masse* was attributed by the natives to a vast shoal of rays, called *sankoody tyrica* or *koopu tyrica*, which are said to eat up oyster shells. But the more practical mind of the Inspector of the pearl banks attributed the disaster—for such it was from a financial point of view—to the influence of a strong southerly current, which was running for some days in December; a current so strong that the Engineer of the *Active* had to let go a second anchor to prevent the ship from dragging.

A chapter on the Tuticorin Chank Fishery concludes Mr. Thurston's "Bulletin." In the sixteenth century Garcia wrote :—

"And this *chanco* is a ware for the Bengal trade, and formerly produced more profit than now and there was formerly a custom in Bengal that no virgin in honour and esteem could be corrupted unless it were by placing bracelets of *chanco* on her arms; but, since the Patháns came in, this usage has more or less ceased, and so the *chanco* is rated lower now."

The Elements of Metaphysics : Being a Guide for Lectures and Private Use. By DR. PAUL DEUSSEN, Professor Ordinarius of Philosophy at the University of Kiel. Translated by C. M. DUFF. London and New York : Macmillan and Co. 1894.

IF we accept Mr. Duff's dictum that the standpoint for the reconciliation of all contradictions in regions of philosophical and religious thought is to be found in the Idealism founded by Kant, and improved upon by Schopenhauer, the English reading world owes him gratitude for his English rendering of Dr. Paul Deussen's expositions of *The Elements of Metaphysics*. The book, we are told in a Preface, originated in connection with lectures delivered at the University of Kiel, and is 'adapted to the horizon of students.' It is likewise recommended as a guide for lecturers. It is, to the best of our judgment, a safe guide for such men as are willing to take it for granted that the unknowable can, with a little foundational help from question-begging axioms and postulates, be told off as glibly as a got-by-heart problem in Euclid. Dr. Paul Deussen informs the reader that the only sure, indubitable truth to be found in spheres, suns, and stars, is himself. 'The World is my representation,' he proclaims. In a chapter on the Metaphysics of Nature, the Egomet is still more pronounced, and he kicks down the Kantian ladder of his ascent *ad astra* in these terms :—

Kant's conclusions would hold good for all time, if our intellect and its three forms were the only way to reach things. But this is not so. More intimately known to me, indeed, than this whole world, is the intellect in and through which all its manifestations are presented to me; but there is one thing still more intimately known to me than my intellect, and that is *I* myself. In our

own inmost self, therefore, if anywhere, must lie the key which opens to us the inner understanding of nature. Here it was found by Schopenhauer—No sculptor's chisel, no poet's hymn can worthily celebrate him for it.

Following the chapter on the Metaphysics of Nature (which, by the way, determines that "the final conclusion of metaphysical science is : All is Will") comes a treatise on the Metaphysics of the Beautiful. In which, after condensing the ethics of Sokrates into three words (*τὸ ὠφελιμὸν ἀγαθόν*) stigmatizing Plato as an "enigmatical" writer, and snubbing Aristotle for not rising superior to the concept of art as an imitation of reality, our transcendental Doctor satisfies himself over again that what is primary and radical in human beings is Will ; what is secondary and accidental is intellect ; furthermore that intellectually-gifted people do not easily rise to intuition of the beautiful. But where, through a happily constituted nature, by culture and education, practised renunciation and self-denial, desire has been tamed, the impetuosity of willing abated, there nature and art will easily succeed in drawing the beholder out of himself, in order to manifest themselves to him, no longer as a complexity of possible motives of willing, but in their purely conceived inner objective being, bathed in the light of beauty.

This is no new philosophical evangel. The Sacred Books of the East abound in much the same sort of preachment. The Herr Professor, in other parts of his book, acknowledges his obligations to Brahmanical and Buddhist scriptures. Only, he improves on them by making objective and subjective ideas interchangeable when convenient, and in the art of magnifying trifles he is a match for them. As when he rails at man's presumption in running counter to Nature's notions of æsthetic fitness when he shaves his beard, because "Nature did not work for eyes like ours, which dwell only on the surface, when she covered the delicate features of mouth and chin with a mass of insignificant hairs."

Part IV of the book deals with the Metaphysics of Morality, and in an Appendix the philosophy of the Vedanta in its relations to occidental metaphysics is summed up in 14 pages. The following extract shows the dominant idea pursued and lays bare the pith of the essay :—

Taking the Upanishads, as Sankara does, for revealed truth with absolute authority, it was not an easy task to build out of their materials a consistent philosophical system, for the Upanishads are, in Theology, Kosmology and Psychology full of the hardest contradictions. Thus in many passages the nature of Brahman is painted in various and luxuriant colours, and again we read, that the nature of Brahman is quite unattainable to human words, to human understanding ;—thus we meet sometimes longer reports explaining how the world has been created by Brahman, and again we are told that there is no world besides Brahman, and all variety of things is mere error and illusion ;—

thus we have fanciful descriptions of the Samsâra, the way of the wandering soul up to heaven and back to earth, and again we read, that there is no Samsâra, no variety of souls at all, but only one Atman, who is fully and totally residing in every being.

Sankara, in these difficulties created by the nature of his materials, in face of so many contradictory doctrines which he was not allowed to decline and yet could not admit altogether,—has found a wonderful way out, which deserve the attention, perhaps the imitation, of the Christian dogmatists in their embarrassments. He constructs out of the materials of the Upanishads two systems : one esoteric, philosophical (called by him *nirgunâ vidyâ*, sometimes *pâramârthikâ avasthâ*), containing the metaphysical truth for the few, rare in all times and countries who are able to understand it ; and another exoteric, theological (*sagunâ vidyâ*, *vyâvahârikâ avasthâ*), for the general public, who want images, not abstract truth ;—worship, not meditation.

A Modern Buccaneer. By ROLF BOLDREWOOD. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1894.

SE NON E VERO, E BEN TROVATO, this yarn of Southern Seas, and savageries perpetrated in earthly paradises, the sunny sides of which Lord Pembroke years ago pictured so gladsomely in "The Earl and the Doctor." Colonial Office records and Missionary Society Reports survive to attest that the crimpings, plunderings, murderings and other atrocities which Rolf Boldrewood idealises and throws a halo of romance round, are not merely the exaggerations of a sensational novelist, but broadly true representations of a lawlessness as devilish in character as any that Mr. Gladstone has ever charged the 'unspeakable Turk' with. In short, there is no lack of verisimilitude about the career of Rolf Boldrewood's *Modern Buccaneer*, and the manner of life of that hero and his fellow ruffians. Putting morality on one side, the book has its good points. Some of the sea and seafaring adventure endues its author with faculty to dilate on seascapes, storms, seamanship under difficulties ; some sympathy with Nature's Polynesian moods lends itself not ungracefully to word-painting of romantic island scenery ; an appreciation of the trend of untutored instincts assists the realism of his presentiments of humanity in its callow nakedness.

Hayston, a Titanic corsair trader, and his brig *Leonora*, take the parts of leading gentleman and lady in the spectacular drama processioned in the pages before us. In the latter scenes Hilary Telfer, his supercargo and friend, stranded on Norfolk Island, falls in love with the granddaughter of one of the survivors of the Mutiny of the *Bounty*, and, turning virtuous, marries her, and, as a reward for his virtue, blossoms shortly into a rich and eminently respectable merchant at Sydney, where that simple child of nature, Miranda Telfer (*née* Christian) becomes a leader of fashion, and barely escapes becoming a professional beauty. She had learnt on Norfolk

Island, it appears, to take her part in a quadrille with all the aplomb of an Austrian Grand Duchess. In one of the last glimpses we get at her, white satin robed and diamond neck-laced, she is discovered at a Viceregal Ball, with H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh for her partner. (Such, my young friends, are the triumphs of virtue.) As a companion picture, take this one from Harry Telfer's bachelor life:—

The old king received me graciously, but soon commenced a string of complaints, interlarded with Scripture quotations rounded off by quaint oaths. He feared the Captain greatly, and yet was anxious to keep up his authority. Then, with every grievance that was laid before me, he drank a stiff glass of grog to wash it down with, and insisted on my keeping him company.

Queen Sê now came in, saying in her prettiest English, "Oh! you naughty boy! Why you no come see king, see *me*? Long time promise, but never come out. How you bad pain side? How many Strong's Island girl Captain got now? I never see man like that. Debil, I believe. You got any wife yet?"

I told the queen I was still unmarried, and thought I should remain so.

"Oh? no, you say so now. By and by get like Captain. But don't you steal girl like him. You come to me! I pick you out nice girl. Cook, sew, make pyjamas; very pretty face too."

By this time old Tokusar was asleep, with his head on the table, his inevitable Bible open at the Psalms of David (printed in the Kusaie dialect) in the leaf of his armchair, and the half-emptied gin bottle encircled by his left arm.

Queen Sê was a tiny little creature—very good-looking, even at this time of her life—being about five-and-twenty, which is considered the *passée* period in Polynesia. She was extremely vain, but had a quick perception of humour. She and the Captain always got on famously together.

Drawing our chairs up to a side table, she brought me a number of bound volumes of *Leslie's Illustrated Paper*, sent to her by the queen of Hawaii.

While I looked at the pictures she plied me with questions, principally at random, about Captain Hayston, who, I was not long in discovering, had been a former admirer. Going into a side room, she unlocked a small box, and brought me out a photo of a gentleman wearing a post-captain's uniform in Her Britannic Majesty's navy. "What do you think of him?" she asked, "Veery, oh! very handsome man—that Captain Damer. Oh! that long time ago. I love him; he love me too"—and then, pointing to poor, old Tokusar, "King know all about it. He don't like me to talk about Captain Damer. But, oh! such handsome man! He told me I loveliest girl in all the world. What you think yourself? What Captain tell you; he think me pretty too?"

Between Rolf Boldrewood and Christian Missionaries in the South Pacific there is no love lost. On his showing, they are without exception greedy hypocrites. And—

There are coloured Chadbands as well as white ones ; and for pure unmitigated hypocrisy, the European professor would have had but little show in a prize contest.

Maids in a Market Garden. By CLO GRAVES. Illustrated by Maurice Greiffenhagen. London : W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1894.

“THE yearly income derived from our ancestral acres of peat-moss and slate rock has sufficed to support us in aristocratic discomfort and exclusive meagreness up to the present. Of the future (she shrugged her shoulders) I cherish doubts. Hence my endeavour—I need hardly say it is disapproved by the family—to manipulate the small fortune of four hundred pounds which came to me by will of a distant relative of my mother’s, so that it might lay the foundation of a provision for my declining years. The idea struck me that a limited company might be formed of spinsters, who, like myself, had got a little money, and would not blanch at the idea of a business investment.” It was Lady Jane Pegram, hard grained, middle aged spinster, daughter of a Welsh peer, who spoke. Her audience consisted of six young ladies as slenderly provided for as herself, or more so, who had been her partners in the business investment, and, after its collapse, had met together to wind up the affairs of The United Gentlemen’s Work Emporium, and condole with one another. Instead of devoting their energies to either purpose, they all in turn proceeded to deliver their minds of autobiographic sketches of their respective families, the schools they have been to, the fads they had taken up and dropped, &c., &c. This plan of introducing *dramatis personæ*, if not unimpeachably artistic, at any rate makes us feel at ease with the young ladies sooner than we might have been were the formal rules of the game strictly observed. Their shadows, coming before their substances, are illuminant. We are made acquainted, not merely with the names on their visiting cards, but with the outlines of their dispositions too. From the very first, in a natural fitness of parts to be played, Rosevear Trelawney assumed virtual leadership of the maids—a masterful young woman, with gleaming yellow-brown eyes and red-gold hair that held London sunsets prisoners in its meshes. Her possession of a farm-house and six acres of orchard and garden ground in Cornwall was a clear indication of Providence that they should constitute themselves

The Limited Liability Company of Female Fruit and Flower Gardners. A Resolution to that effect was unanimously carried at the Meeting. A second Resolution was received with rapture:—

"Let us make one condition—form one resolution—be of one mind upon one subject, though upon others we may amicably agree to differ," said Octavia Wall. "My dears, let us keep the insidious Man as well as the destructive wireworm out of this Eden we propose to inhabit and cultivate. We will coax from the kindly soil the fruits which for countless centuries the Iron Hand of Brute Force" (she was insensibly relapsing into her platform manner) "has wrested from it. No foolish coqueties, no idiotic flirtations" (she looked hard at the Dormer girls) "must disturb the current of our even lives. Regular meals, early hours, sensible dress, hardy occupations should be enforced amongst our rules. And our watchword—borrowed from the labouring class to which we shall henceforth belong—our watchword should be—

NO FOLLOWERS ALLOWED.

Need we say that they all get happily married in less than a twelve month. In the meantime they enjoyed strange experiences and an adventure or two among the primitive West country folk and are taught lessons in economy that ought to have been valuable, for the school fees paid to be pretty heavy. Salient West country attributes, racial and scenic are sketched with a light, free hand, and the pathetic incidents never run to maudlin. They are few: nine-tenths of the story told approaches the fun of a Gilbert-and-Sullivan Comic Opera. All that a Girton and Newnham begotten pastoral should be, *Maids in a Market Garden*.

There are pleasant descriptions of a West country harvest home and a West country Love Feast, and since a modern pastoral would not be worthy the name without an encounter with an angry bull in a meadow and a rescue, we get that too. One day, Clara Currie is taken for a sail by a chivalrous young fisherman, one of Clo.'s heroes, and she expostulates with him on his habit of cutting strips of skin off live pilchards for bait for their fellow fish. Huey Lenine apologises:—

"If us wer' t' kill ivery fish us takes by th' line or th' drift us widn't make much of a livin', aw reckon!"

"Perhaps not. But there are some things——" Clara shuddered. "For instance, I passed through the kitchen the other day while Aunt Hosanna was boiling a lobster—*alive*! And it spoked the lid of the saucepan up, and put out its head; I shall never forget the expression of its face." She shut her eyes again. "It was dreadful—dreadful! I shall never eat lobster again. And yet Aunt Hosanna is a good, kind woman, and reads her Bible regularly."

"Ay, ma'am, sh' does so. But aw doubt whether ther' be any guidin' word i' th' Testament as to dealin' wi' fish and shelly sea trade. Simple folk needs a plain chart ter steer by, an' if ther' wer' sich a text as 'Th' marciful man es marciful tew hes lobster,' or such, us'ud know how t' go vore. But ther' bint no sich a word. Ee see, ma'am, th' Master en His disciples they was fishermen same

as we be, en they knawed that pelchard 'll take none but fresh bait
 en that a dead-biled lobster niver ates nigh so well as a live-biled 'un.
 Or 'em wid ha' laid down commandments like, en spiled trade."

List of Architectural and Archæological Remains in Coorg.

Compiled under the orders of Government by ALEX. REA,
 M.R.A.S., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Madras.
 Madras : Superintendent, Government Press. 1894.

THE official *Gazetteer* pronounces the Coorg pagodas to be mostly of an insignificant character; none are distinguished for great antiquity, or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines, of mud walls and thatched roofs, within a gloomy grove, and not calling for any particular description. Rough lists of local antiquities, prepared by taluq officials on Mr. Rea's requisition, in the main, bear out this opinion. Still we hope that before the proposed railway line is carried through the province, steps will be taken to conserve the few architectural and archæological remains that have character enough to entitle them to salvation. That there are some few worth rescuing from Vandalism, a hurried tour through the country lying between Mysore and Mercara has convinced Mr. Rea. Notably, there are *Kôllêkals* and pre-historic remains scattered among the Jaina *bastis* along the Eastern and Northern boundaries of Mysore that are deserving of care and attention. Mr. Rea's taluq officer's list and his pertinent glosses thereon may help towards fixation of the right to spots concentrate conservative effort on, and so prevent waste of energy.

Meanwhile the publication with which we are presently concerned is not devoid of interest and instruction, as the following extract from Mr. Rea's preface shows :—

Pre-historic sepulchral remains are numerous. Their structure and contents are similar to others found over widely distributed tracts of Southern India. Their names also are similar; they are known as Pându-pârê, pârêkallu, Pândava pârêkallu (stones of the Pândavas, evidently dolmens or stone circles) and Pândavaramanê (houses of the Pândavas, seemingly kistvaena). Sometimes the kistvaens are divided into two chambers and are situated singly or in groups. The relics usually found are peculiarly-shaped pottery, containing earth, bones, iron spears and beads.

Carved and inscribed stones.—These are of several kinds, of which the following are the principal :—

(1) *Kôllêkallu* or *vîrakallu* are the tombs of warriors slain in battle. The lists would show them to be most numerous near the Kadangas or ancient earthen fortifications. They are large slabs of granite with the front side divided into three sculptured compartments, as are those so numerous found in certain parts of the Huvinahadgalli tâlûk of the Bellary District. The lowest compartment represents the battle; the middle one shows the deceased being conveyed to heaven; and in the upper one he is seated before a linga or other emblem. Similar, but more coarsely sculptured stones are erected in the north of Coorg at the present day.

(2) *Másatikallu*.—Stones erected to the memory of women who have committed sati.

(3) *Nágakallu*, *inscribed stones*—usually at the foot of trees, for serpent worship.

(4) *Sâsanakallu*, *inscribed stones*.—Some are cut on large detached slabs of granite, others on the walls of temples. Among those in the present lists are some described as being in a language or character unknown to the village officials. Presumably these inscriptions are of ancient date.

Kadangas—Ancient earth-work fortifications consisting of a high breast-work and ditch. They are of ancient date, one being mentioned in an inscription of the ninth century. They are erected on hills and other places, and are sometimes very extensive. The tombs in their vicinity speak eloquently of the struggles which had taken place around them.

Mr. Rea had second thoughts *re* Kadangas. These were generated by his tour, and take shape in a note in an appendix, which reads thus:—

After inspection, these earthen ramparts appear to me to be more of the nature of boundaries between the different ancient estates than mere fortifications. Placed in the midst of dense forest they could not have formed in any way a strong defence, except it may have been against roving herds of elephants. The Kadangas are simply enlarged examples of the boundaries now-a-days erected in all parts of the Mysore country.

The Book of Wisdom. BY ALOPI DIN RAUTJI, Superintendent, Accountant-General's Office, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad : Indian Press, 1893.

WE have not the honour of acquaintance with Mr. Richard de Bury. He guarantees the respectability of Alopi Dín Ráútji's *Book of Wisdom* in the following terms:—

"The desirable treasure of wisdom and knowlege, which all men covet from the impulse of nature, infinitely surpasses all the riches of the world ; in comparison with which, precious stones are vile, silver is clay, and purified gold, grains of sand ; in the splendour of which, the sun and moon grow dim to the sight ; in the admirable sweetness of which, honey and manna are bitter to the taste. The value of wisdom decreaseth not with time ; it hath an ever flourishing virtue that cleanseth its possession from every venom. O celestial gift of divine liberality, descending from the Father of Light to raise up the rational soul even to heaven ! Thou art the celestial alimony of intellect, of which whosoever eateth shall yet hunger, and whoso drinketh shall yet thirst ; a harmony rejoicing the soul of the sorrowful, and never in any way discomposing the hearer. Thou art the moderator and the rule of morals, operating according to which none err. By Thee kings reign, and lawgivers decree justly. Through Thee, rusticity of nature being cast off, wits and tongues being polished, and the thorns of vice utterly eradicated, the summit of honour is reached."

"Richard de Bury."

The *Book of Wisdom* is dedicated to "the most reverent and venerable sage, Babu Mádhava Dás, recluse of Allahabad, as a humble token of gratitude, etc, etc." In it selections from the *Vishnu Purán* from the Udán Varga, from Confucius, from Æsop, from Socrates, from "Diogenes Laërtius," from

W. F. Thompson, Esq., John T. Platts, Esq., and numerous other less well-known authors find resurrection. It is a well meaning compilation, and, like most intellectual efforts of the sort, damps imagination under the wet cloud of its appreciations of dulness, and does what in it lies to estrange youthful sympathies from belief in *το καλον*.

Bengalee would-be seditionists will find in Mr. A. D. Rautji's compilation selections from the writings of G. W. M. Reynolds. Admirers of more material pruriency are accommodated with pickings from Dr. Pye Henry Chevasse's *Advice to a Wife*. And Mr. A. D. Rautji re-publishes such literary garbage in all good faith in a book that, he tells us, "opens with *Universal Prayer*, and closes with *Universal Praise*." If any severer, any more pungent censure on our system of "Higher Education" than that afforded by Mr. Rautji's selections from ancient and modern literature can be afforded, we shall be glad and sorry to hear of it.

Rudiments of the World. By A LAYMAN. Delhi: Sen & Co. 1893.

FAITH a safer religious guide than Science, would have been a more appropriate title for the collection of essays under notice that selected by their author, who, while he insists on every man's right, every man's duty, to weigh all the injunctions, statements, and conclusions, of the Biblical Law, and the Apostles, and the Commentators in scientific scales; to repudiate dogma, to enquire into the validity of Scriptural claims to inspiration, to discuss the completeness or the reverse of what he calls the At-one-ment, &c., &c, yet exalts Faith above reason, and says in effect, with St. Augustine *Credo quia incredibile*. The title to which we demur, the *Layman* derives from "Paul's Letter to the Colossians" (II. 8 and II. 20) translating *τα στοιχεια*, rudiments. We venture to think that, in both instances, the word oracles would be a more correct rendering. And, as George Eliot said, the right word is a power. *A Layman*, however, prefers eclecticism in philological gleanings, as in religious ones. For his exploitation of the latter field he postulates that Faith must consist with reason, "even though at variance with logic." He maintains that the doctrine of free-will is essentially opposed to the principles of the Christian religion, as indicated by the Master and his apostles; and that, "supposing that Faith and Love are eventually understood to be physical forces like electricity," man might, by the exercise of his power, subject events to the influence of his will, and utilise them to work miracles with. *A Layman* is not intentionally guilty of paradoxes, but the bent of his mind tempts him every now and again to perpetration of them. Will-power

is a magnetism that has great attractions for him. The potency of hypnotism to move material bodies without physical contact, is, he contends, established on evidence such as would suffice in the case of facts not regarded as phenomenal. And he goes on to say :—

Of the physical effects of certain mental conditions there can be equally little doubt. A large portion of Dr. Sprenger's great work on Mahomed is devoted to the consideration of these effects. In fact the physical results arising from strong efforts of will, imagination, and belief, are notorious and beyond dispute. It can hardly be doubted that we are approaching the discovery of laws of nature, regarding the relations between mind and matter, which will clear up much hitherto discredited or unexplained in history, both European and Asiatic.

In his preface, *A Layman* modestly characterises his own arguments as "inconclusive and confused," and involving apparent contradictions. These, he says, are inevitable, since the subject is not susceptible of logical argument. Although we cannot concur with this sentiment, its candour merits reciprocity, on our part, and prompts the question whether an illogical argument is worth expending 314 pages of print over ?

The National Review. November 1894. London: Edward Arnold, Publisher to the India Office, 37, Bedford Street, Strand, W. C.

IN an article in the *National Review* for November, entitled, Native India and England, Dr. Beck, Principal of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, writes :—

The interests of the Mahomedans require : *first*, that there should be no repetition of the Mutiny, and therefore they cannot join the party of abuse and sedition led by Dadabhai Naoroji and the Bengali politicians; *second*, that they should not be ousted from the services and subjected to Hindu rule, and they are thus bound to oppose the programme of the National Congress. They have, therefore, made associations to protect their interests, and to correct the mis-statements as to their views made by Congresswalas like Sir William Wedderburn, who was not ashamed to bring against your great patriot Sir Syed Ahmed the mean and ridiculous accusation of opposing the Congress to curry favour with a Lieutenant-Governor. The Mahomedans are called selfish and unpatriotic because they object to be governed by Hindu majorities, but what would the Hindus say if it were proposed to subject them to Mahomedan majorities? An example will show. The Principals of Colleges in the North-West Provinces were recently called on to nominate students for three posts of Deputy-Collectorships. Because a majority of the nominees happened to be Mahomedans the indignation of the Bengali Press was unbounded. They accused the English of acting on the iniquitous maxim of *divide et impera*, to which phrase they attached the singular meaning that a division of the Government patronage among the different races was an immoral act of Machiavellian policy. In Bengal where one-third of the population is Mahomedan, sixty-six of these very posts have been given between the years 1884-93 by competitive examination, and not one has been secured by a Mahomedan; a system resulting so wholly in the monopoly of the posts by Bengali Hindus and in the absence of the division they condemn, that they are clamouring for its extension throughout India.

Manual of the Bengâlî Language : Comprising a Bengâlî Grammar and Lessons with various Appendices, including an Asamese Grammar. By G. F. NICHOLL, M.A., Lord Almoner's Professor in the University of Oxford; Honorary Fellow, and late Oriental Lecturer of Balliol College; Professor of Sanskrit and Persian in King's College, London. London: W. H. Allen and Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1894.

MR. NICHOLL writes in his Preface :—

It will strike any thoughtful foreigner that there is a little too much Sanskrit, possibly a little too much Sanskritism, in many of the writings of the 'educated' classes of Bengal. This sort of thing tends to encourage Sanskrit, no doubt; but, it is not desirable, surely, to bury the natural beauties of Bengâlî form under a gorgeous mass of Sanskrit drapery? *Some* knowledge of Sanskrit is absolutely necessary for the student who aspires to know Bengâlî intelligently and thoroughly; but, the European student will probably see in the excessive Sanskrit leaven of many Bengâlî lumps evidence of the desirability of his learning Sanskrit *to learn Bengâlî*! To go through the whole Sanskrit *Vyākaran*, however, to get at Bengâlî or 'to help Bengâlî,' is, to say the least of it, unwise. Putting aside the *Krit* and *Taddhita* rules, the *Upasarga* meanings, the common *Dhātus*, and the *Past Participles*, the student will not find much in Sanskrit Grammar 'to help Bengâlî.' I speak, of course, simply of the language *per se*, and not of its strictly indigenous writings, wherein Sanskrit *thought* and *lore* superabound—that is quite another thing.

The 'Lower Probationers,' who must needs read 'a Classical,' will, of course, have to read Sanskrit; but the quantity and quality of that reading should be a matter of very serious consideration with those persons who are responsible for their training in this country. So long as there are Bengâlî authors who deliberately *preface* their Grammars with the elaborate rules of (Sanskrit) Sandhi, we shall be sure to find Bengâlî students who will treasure 'the Nouns in *ī*, *ś*, and *h*,' 'the Third Preterite,' 'the Causal Aorist,' and their congeners as 'helps to Bengâlî!' No amount of theoretical Sanskrit knowledge will, or should, do duty for a fair knowledge of practical idiomatic Bengâlî.

The *Bengâlî Manual* is intentioned as a guide to the attainment of this desirable 'fair knowledge.' It ought to prove helpful to that end. It is discreetly thorough in plan: even village patois is not ignored.

Apropos of the 'Lessons' and 'Exercises' the author writes :—

A few months ago, however, I sent a printed copy of the Lessons to my old friend and pupil, Mr. Beatson Bell, B.A., of Serâjganj, with a request that he would place it in the hands of some young and well-informed Babu for examination and report. Accordingly, Babu Ramesvar Chakrabarti, B.A., Head Master of the Serâjganj School, has favoured me with some suggestions and strictures, which I have embodied in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* at the end of the Manual. On several points the Babu has put me right, wherein either from omission or commission I was wrong. But, unfortunately, in many cases where he thought he was correcting me, he was only correcting one or other of his own eminent countrymen whose *ipsissima verba* I had given! This is rather embarrassing, but it is not discouraging. To assume that I am personally and wholly responsible for every word and sentence of the Manual, is, of course, quite gratuitous: criticism based upon such an assumption is not unlikely to hurt the critic, be he ever so honest—

آن عدل الہوست کہ بر یک نمط است *

باقی همه جا گاہ رضا گاہ سخت است

آنجا ستم نیست مگر اینجا ستم است *

آنجا غلط نیست مگر اینجا غلط است

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Dharma-prabandha. By PRIYANATH MUKHOPADHYAYA, M. A., Calcutta. Printed by Jádunáth Síl, Hare Press, 46, Bechoo Chatterjee's Street. Published at the Sanskrit Press Depository, 148, Baranasse Ghose's Street.

BABOO PRIYANATH MUKHOPADHYAYA, M. A., Lecturer, Morris College, Nagpur, has presented the public with a number of sermons, delivered by him at the Local Dharma Samáj during the year 1890-1891. They treat of a variety of transcendental topics, and are written in elegant and chaste Bengali, and in an impressive and fascinating style. They are designed to popularise some of the most abstruse and difficult theories propounded by the various Schools of Hindu religious thought. One idea seems to pervade the whole work, and that is, that the highest aspirations of the various Schools have but one object in view, namely, the absorption of the human soul in the Divine. The Brahmos, the Vaishnavas, the Vedantists, the followers of Chaitanya, nay, even the followers of Christ and Muhammad, all have, in his opinion, the same object in view. We will not quarrel with Baboo Priyanáth as to the unity of object of religious schools so utterly different as Muhammadanism and Vedantism. It is a fact that different schools have different ideas of supreme felicity. Even so acute a thinker of the age, as Professor Deussen, of Kiel, finds the ideals of the Vedanta and Christianity greatly different.

What we specially admire in the volume is the exposition of the doctrines of Chaitanyaism. It goes far deeper than many pretentious works on the subject. The doctrine of self-effacing love for the Divine Being, which is embodied in the person of Rādhā, is explained with great force and clearness. No doctrine is more misunderstood and abused than this beautiful one of "Rādhā flying to her Lover, regardless of all the bonds of the physical world." It is a spiritual union, far beyond the comprehension of the vulgar, and to Baboo Priyanáth belongs the credit of giving it that high place amongst the ideals created by the religious activity of the world which it so eminently deserves.

We quote the following as a specimen of the language and style, and also as a specimen of the argumentation, used in this book:—

এই শব্দ শুনিয়া পাত্র হৃষ্ট হইলেন । শুভদিনে শুভক্ৰমে বিবাহ
সম্পন্ন হইবে । ধ্যানগৃহে বাসর সজ্জিত হইল । শুভলগ্নে বিরাট পাত্র

আসিয়া উপস্থিত হইলেন। শুভদৃষ্টি হইবে, কুলহীন পাত্র সময় বুঝিয়া বলিলেন, “আমার প্রাপ্য পণ দাও নতুবা শুভদৃষ্টি হইবে না।” ব্যাকুল হৃদয়ে কন্যা বলিলেন, “কি চাই লও” তিব্বত্রে পাত্র কহিলেন, “তোমার গৃহে বড় রিপূর কোলাহল হইতেছে, ইহাদিগকে দূর করিয়া দাও” বলিবামাত্র রিপু ইন্দ্রিয় নিশ্চল হইল। কন্যা কহিলেন “আর কি চাই স্বামী?” পাত্র বলিলেন, “তোমার ধর্মাধর্মের আবরণ আমাকে অর্পণ কর,”—অমনি ধর্মাধর্ম অর্পিত হইল। কন্যা বলিলেন, “আর কি চাই,” স্বামী বলিলেন, “তোমার কামনা চাই,” কন্যা বলেন, “এই লও”। পাত্র বলেন, “তোমার ইচ্ছা চিন্তা, বুদ্ধি, সংজ্ঞা সমুদয় দাও”। প্রকৃষ্টচিত্তে কন্যা সমুদয় অর্পণ করিলেন। আবার বলিলেন, “কি চাই স্বামী?” তখন স্বামী বলিলেন “আমি তোমার আসক্তির বস্ত্র গ্রহণ করিয়াছি, ধর্মাধর্মের ভূষণ আমাকেই দিয়াছ, কামনা, বুদ্ধি, চিন্তা, সংজ্ঞা, প্রভৃতি যাহা কিছু ছিল সমুদয় আমাকেই দিয়াছ, আর আমাকে কি দিবে, তোমার আর কি আছে?” কন্যা বলেন, “কেবল আমিই আছি, আরত কিছুই নাই!” স্বামী বলেন, “তুমি বড় সুন্দর হইয়াছ, তোমাকেই চাই” বলিবামাত্র সর্কধ্বহীন কন্যা স্বামীর হৃদয়ে প্রবেশ করিলেন, বালিকা পত্নীকে বিরাট স্বামীর প্রগঢ় আলিঙ্গন! চন্দ্র সূর্য্য চমকিত হইয়া পলায়ন করিল, দেশকাল ত্রিরমাণ হইল, স্থিতি অস্থিতি বিলুপ্ত হইল, নির্জনে ধ্যান-নদীতীরে, জীবে শিবে উদ্বাহক্রিয়া সম্পন্ন হইল, নির্জনে শুভদৃষ্টি হইল, কেহ সম্বাদ পাইল না। পাত্রকেও কেহ দেখিল না।

The net result of Baboo Priyanáth's teaching is this: The world appears to be full of various discordant elements, Man has no power to change, or alter, or even to understand any one of these elements. In the infancy of the human mind men saw miracles, and Divine agency in everything they heard and saw; but, with the advance of thought, they came to find a miraculous and wonderful unity pervading all these discordant elements, both within and without the human mind. This principle of unity is *Brahma* of the Vedantists and *Krishna* of the Vaishnavas; it also goes by various other names, but in substance it is the same. Educated Bengalis are said to neglect the higher regions of thought and philosophy; it is therefore that we welcome this beautiful work with great pleasure.

Prem-latá (Anonymous). Printed and published by Amritá Lal Ghose, 17, Srínáth Das's Lane, Calcutta.

THIS is the second edition of the above work. It is three times as large as the first, and the reader will not regret the increase in the bulk. The authoress often betrays a sympathetic feeling for the Brahma Samáj, but the keynote of the book is an all-absorbing and all-effacing devotion to Hari. Whoever she be, we have read the second edition of her work with a deep sense of her powers as a writer of fiction.

The work describes a joint-family in affluent circumstances with one member looking after the interests of the whole family, outside the family circle, and the wife of another discharging the duties of the matron of the family within the household. Other members pass their time as they like: some idling, some indulging in vices, some scheming, and others doing mischief. But this easy-going life cannot last; nature is against it. The scheming wife of the managing member gets an ascendancy over her husband and induces him to deprive his thoughtless brothers of their property.

The elder brother is given a small pension and driven away from the family dwelling-house. The third brother is compelled to seek service and live in low company. The youngest goes abroad on travels. The highly-respected and beloved matron is made to work for the comfort of her family and also of her dependents. The wife of the third brother, who has a genuine religious fervour, leaves the house, roves alone in various places of pilgrimage, and receives the highest instruction in religion from various sages. The joint-family is ruined.

But the day of retribution comes. The managing brother gradually loses all his children; he and his wife do not agree. His brothers again come in to comfort him and to console him. But the most influential person that comes in at this stage, to give a higher tone of thought to the whole family, is his religious sister-in-law, who, like an influence divine, approaches the family and elevates all that is low and miserable in it, and beautifies and adorns all that is elevated.

The plot is simple, and of the kind we see almost every day in Bengal. The wife of the managing brother came from a family which differed so entirely in habits, mode of thought, and traditions, from that of her husband, that the match should not have been made. The family of her husband were brought up in Hindu traditions and had been living on the income of their zemindari for generations, but her father was an employé in an European firm, enlightened in his views, and anglicized in his habits. She received a thorough English education and considered herself

far superior to her sisters-in-law, whom she looked down upon with contempt. She could find nothing good in the motherly matron, her elder sister-in-law, who served the whole family so well. Her popularity galled her, and she began to plot her ruin. She found no *confidante* in the family. She began to associate with a wicked, low and miserable woman; but even this woman would not act against the motherly matron without heavy bribes. But all her plots, all her Machiavellian machinations were at last exposed, and she became the laughing-stock of those whom she considered her inferiors. That was the beginning of her reformation. She found that all her education and all her intelligence availed her nothing. She now realised her position, and, as the joint-family was dissolved, her absolute isolation. All of a sudden she found that they were, she herself, her husband, and her children, completely isolated from those who really loved them, bore affection towards them, and served them as no paid servant could ever serve. By habit and education, she was absolutely incapable of rearing her children, and during her isolated condition, they all die. Just at this time, comes in the religious woman, and our educated lady at once falls at her feet and seeks that consolation from religion and from the practice of virtue which she could not get by any other means. On the death of all her children, the brothers again become the reversioners of the property and the joint-family is reconstituted. The old happy days return, with no evil genius hatching plots to cut them short.

Samd̐j. By R. C. DUTT, ESQ., C. S. Published by Sarat Kumār Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.

THIS is a sequel to Mr. Dutt's well-known novel, the *Sans̐r*. As long as writers of fiction confine themselves to their legitimate duty, namely the creation of beauty, they stand or fall by the loftiness or otherwise of their genius; but if novels are written to serve an ulterior end, for instance, the cause of a party, or of a reformation, the question becomes complicated. Hitherto Bengali novels never swerved from their legitimate aim. Bankim Chandra tried, in his later novels, to infuse some idea of the superiority of Hinduism, but his principal object was the creation of beauty. The realistic school of Babu T. C. Ganguli and S. C. Chatterjee attempted to paint society as it is.

For the first time in Bengali fiction, Mr. Dutt has attempted to advocate the cause of widow marriage and inter-marriage by writing novels. The majority of Mr. Dutt's readers are, of course, Hindu; and it is very doubtful whether the theories advocated will be palatable to them.

Not satisfied with advocating his favourite ideas, Mr. Dutt has attempted to paint orthodox Hindu society as mean, low, vulgar, narrow-minded, selfish and altogether detestable. But, as soon as one of these mean fellows marries a widow, he is at once declared to be courageous, honest and a paragon of virtue, and if one of them marries outside his caste, he immediately becomes a model of virtue.

Everyone has a right to advocate his own theory, but we are afraid the example set by Mr. Dutt is likely to produce a host of writers on the other side whose bitter sarcasms and forcible painting of the miseries of married widows will not be very palatable to the advocates of reform. There is always the danger of setting rival parties to work, if any form of literature is made the organ of a party.

Leaving the question of advocacy aside, we are glad to find that the Bengali style of Mr. Dutt has improved considerably, and is now tolerably free from that Anglicism which disfigured his previous writings, and which is a peculiar characteristic of the style of the reforming party. Realistic description is Mr. Dutt's *forte*, and in his present work he excels in this. His characterisation also shows an advance.

Mahārāni Sarat Sundri's Jibanācharit. By GIRISH CHANDRA LAHIRI. Printed and published by Sanyal and Co., Calcutta. 1301 B. S.

THIS is an account of a most respectable, pious, virtuous and munificent lady, who was an ornament to the orthodox Hindu community of Bengal. The community which can produce such a character, can not be so absolutely without vigour and vitality as it is represented to be. Born of pious Hindu parents, Sarat Sundarī acquired, from her infancy, that devotional feeling towards Hindu gods and goddesses which lasted all her life, and impelled her to devote herself with singular vigour and resolution to the service of her fellow creatures. Left a widow at the age of thirteen and the sole heiress to a property worth a lakh-and-half a year, she not only managed that property with singular ability, but left it to her heiress appreciated in value by several thousand rupees. She held the property, as all Hindu widows do, for the term of her life, without any right to alienate. But the profits were all hers, and these she employed solely in doing good to others. She lived, as a Brahmin widow should, on one coarse meal a day, and used to wear the coarsest clothes prescribed for Brahmin widows. There are thousands of Brahmin widows who follow this routine; but Sarat Sundarī did more, she

gathered round her a large number of equally unfortunate Brahmin widows, served them as their servant, and lived with them. She had never a room to herself; some scores of beds used to be prepared in a hall, and she occupied one of them. Her protégées often took advantage of her goodness, and used her very roughly. But she bore all that with a meekness which was simply superhuman. Her charities had no end; the newspapers of her time teemed with the praise of her munificence, and an appreciative Government honored her with the title of Rání.

Baboo Girish Chandra Lahiri has done an immense service to the orthodox Hindu community, by publishing his admirable account of her at a time when this community is being fiercely attacked by seceders from it. His style is unpolished; but his work shows the greatest art, because, being all admiration for his heroine, he faithfully paints her as she was, and he has nothing to be ashamed of.

Vidyápati. By KALIPRASANNA KAVYABISARADA. Printed and published at the Secular Press, Bhawanipore.

THERE are a vast number of beautifully melodious and charmingly poetic songs in Bengal, which go by the name of *Kirttan* songs. They are at present, so to say, the sole property of the followers of Chaitanya, and are arranged according to a method. They commence with the first appearance of love in Krishna for Radha, and go through the various stages of development of that love. Ninety-nine per cent. of these songs have the signature of the poets attached to them. By the analyses of two collections of about four thousand songs, it has been found that there were altogether one hundred and fourteen poets who helped for centuries to build up this vast architecture of song. Amongst these one-hundred and fourteen signatures, there is that of Vidyápati appended to over two hundred. These differ from the rest, in the peculiarity of both their language and their idiom, and in the soaring height of their poetic fancy. For a long time speculation was rife as to who this inspired songster might be. The quaintness of his language and idiom was put down to his great age, and he was regarded as the first Bengali poet. Traditional accounts of his life had been written, commentaries on his work had been published, when suddenly Babu Rájkrishna Mukherjee, in the year 1872, discovered that he was not a Bengali, but a Maithili; that his family still lives on the land granted to him by his patron Shiva Singha, who is so often mentioned in his songs; and that he wrote not in Bengali but in Maithili. In 1880

and in 1882, Dr. Grierson published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, a large number of Vidyapati Thakur's songs as extant in Mithila, and we have this day, before us, a critical edition of Vidyapati Thakur's songs as extant in Bengal.

The editor, Pundit Káliprasanna Kavyabisarada, has spared no pains in searching for original information regarding Vidyapati and his songs, and he has wisely abstained from indulging in wild theories as to the origin of the Maithil dialect and other Prakrits, or the origin of the Maithil and Bengali character. He is very cautious, and we admire him for it. But, with all his caution, he has advanced theories from which scholars will differ. Four to five hundred years before this, Bengali and Maithil writing could scarcely be distinguished, except in certain crucial letters, such as "R." Mr. Bendall has ascertained that, about a thousand years ago, there was only one form of letters to be found all over Eastern India. Ancient inscriptions and manuscripts in Orissa, Bengal, Mithila and Nepal show this plainly. This character, conventionally called Kutila, from the crookedness of certain strokes, developed four varieties of alphabet in the course of time, *viz.*, Maithil, Bengali, Nepalese, and Uriya. Manuscripts in Bengali character go as far back as 1197, 1198 and 1199. Maithil and Bengali of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries resemble each other closely. It is after this time that the characters begin to change and develop different types. Some people would think that changes in the character and in the language go hand in hand, and that because the characters agree, the languages should *à fortiori* agree, but this is not the case. The dialect of Mithila and that of Birbhum, in which Vidyapati's contemporary, Chandidás, used to write, are by no means one and the same. The language of Chaitanya's contemporaries was Bengali, with no admixture of Maithili in it. Vidyapati's admirers used to imitate his style, and Govinda Das, who composed over five hundred *Kirttan* songs, and who was a great admirer of Vidyapati, was full of Maithilism, though he was bred in the District of Burdwan and lived near the present city of Moorshedabad. It is Govinda Dás's influence which has led many to think that ancient Bengali was near to Maithil. The language in which Vidyapati wrote is commonly known as Brijbuli. This has confounded many, who think that Vidyapati wrote in the language of *Braja*, or the eighty-four krosas of land sacred to the followers of Krishna, near Brindában. But Brijbuli has nothing to do with Braja. Brijo is the ancient name of Mithila, or rather one of the three powerful Kshatriya tribes holding sway in Mithila. Our editor does not seem to be free from this error ; as he often brings in Hindi in connection with Vidyapati's writings.

The commentary is full and clear, and it has the rare merit of elucidating the text. Where the passage is so obscure as to defy all explanation, the reader feels that the commentator has done his best, and that the obscurity will not be removed without superior scholarship or further research. Beyond verbal criticism and comment, there is in this volume a higher and superior commentary, explaining, not only sentiments and imagery, but the far higher object, the self-effacing love, which runs throughout this collection of *kirttan* songs.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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
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